MEN AND ISSUES OF 1900

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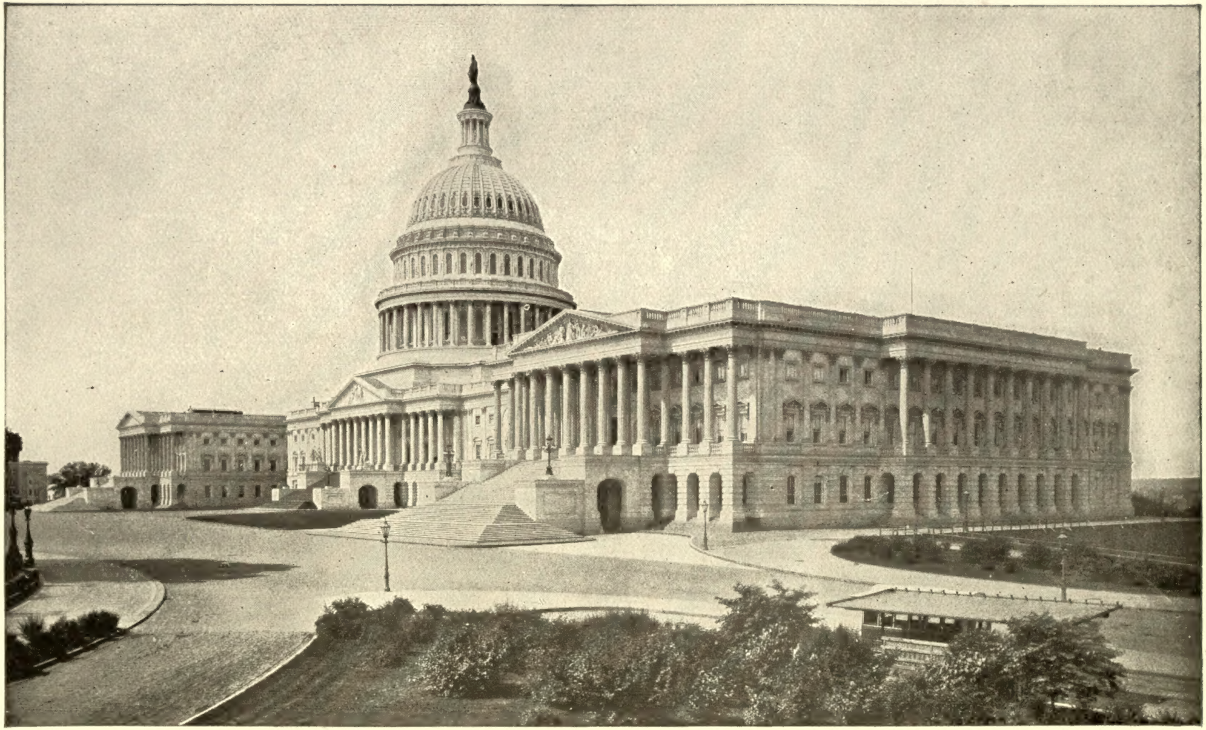

THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

Men and Issues of 1900

The Vital Questions of the Day

INCLUDING

"Territorial Expansion," "The Porto Rico Problem," "Our Philippine Policy,"
"The Nicaragua Canal," "The Open Door," "Commercial Extension,"
"Coin and Currency," "Uses and Abuses of Trusts," Etc., Etc.

A Compendium of the Views of all Parties

Written by our most distinguished statesmen and leaders, among whom are

GEORGE F. HOAR
HENRY CABOT LODGE
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WILLIAM B. ALLISON
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WILLIAM LINDSAY
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HENRY M. TELLER
GEORGE B. McCLELLAN and Many Others

TOGETHER WITH

The Lives of Candidates

For President and Vice President, and the National Platforms

ALSO

A National Portrait Gallery

Containing Half-Tone Photographs of the Great Leaders of all Parties, with concise Biographies of each

EDITED BY JAMES P. BOYD, A. M., L. B.

Author of "Men and Issues of '92," "Parties and Problems of '96," "Political History of the United States," Etc.

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INTRODUCTORY.

IT is agreed by every shade of politics and every color of sentiment, that the United States has entered upon an historic career far different in kind from any anticipated until even so late a period as two years ago.

The great public measures which had interested and divided parties, and had found, temporarily at least, a solution in the popular verdict of 1896, and in subsequent legislation, have themselves contributed to the opening of a fresh vista of national opportunity, and of relations with the outside world, wholly novel, yet most imposing for statesmen and important for people.

Finance, tariff, manufacture, agriculture, commerce, all economic and industrial problems whose controversial beginnings and endings were in the courts of our home electorate, in our legislative halls, or in specially interested and qualified classes, have, in a localized sense, lost none of their moment for individual, legislator or organization, but all have been enlarged and, as it were, transformed by that marvelous outcrop of results whose effect is to internationalize and universalize a status hitherto satisfactorily regarded as geographically local or limitedly national.

Is it finance? Let the problem press as it may at home—and none is keener or weightier—its significance is trebled by the fact that we have suddenly passed from the insignificance of a debtor to the potentiality of a creditor nation, and must, accordingly, shape our public measures and our business methods to suit new and world-wide relations.

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Is it production of field, mine, factory or shop? The problem is ever gigantic respecting ourselves solely, but how infinitely larger in view of the fact that our genius and application have found merit in every important foreign mart, and that our competition pulsates amid all the leading nations of the earth.

Is it commerce? As a strictly home question, what can rival it in importance? But it is no longer a question of limitations. Our products and wares are crying out in their universal triumph for our vessels, our merchantmen, our flag. Our isolation on the seas is no longer tolerable. Dependence on foreign bottoms is weakness and helplessness, especially in time of crisis or war. Study of foreign and successful commercial systems has become the highest duty of statecraft and organized institutions. A merchant marine, compatible with the rapidly growing needs of export, and of our proper place amid enterprising and prosperous maritime nations, is a pressing necessity of the new historical era.

Thus it is seen how each of the momentous problems that have, in their season, agitated us as a home people, have taken on new form and meaning, have expanded from local to universal proportions, have come to demand a concernment and study far deeper and more impressive than when they were problems of limitations. Verily, the United States has, in respect of its internal industries and resources, entered upon a new and loftier historic career.

With greater suddenness and in a much more brilliant way the nation, without intended initiative and with no expectation of such result, entered upon a most decidedly new career through her martial and naval prowess. Smarting under the aggravations of a contumacious and cruelly disposed neighbor, and in obedience to a humanitarian sentiment that uni versally echoed favor from gulf to lake and from ocean to ocean, we unshrinkingly met unavoidable war with all its turmoil of preparation, horrors of actual combat, and dire consequences to the vanquished. It flashed in all its fierce majesty and strength at Manila and Santiago, and the enemy that had once defied the world was consumed as stubble. Then came, along with the glory of quick and unexampled triumph, the home awakening to responsibilities whose magnitude was startling.

National guardianship, such as that which the welfare and destiny of Cuba demanded, was a new and unstudied vocation, fruitful of anxious problems whose solution beggared precedents, and a source as yet, of tumultuous discussion and partizan acrimony both in the rescued island and in our own legislative halls and popular midst. It would be a lowering of our pride and wisdom to say we are at sea with this series of solemn problems; but we are certainly at school with them, and struggling as pupils for a solution that demands every requirement of patience and sagacity. They vitally interest us nationally and popularly, for by their outcome we shall be critically judged as arbiters in a foreign, though unselfish, cause by nations skilled in the use of mature diplomacy.

And equally so with that vast multitude of vexatious questions and pressing issues that find origin in, or indissoluble association with, our insular conquests. They embrace the manifold responsibilities of conquerors, not only as to the policy of retention and government, but as to a proper attitude toward rebellious occupants. Acquired privileges and possessory rights deemed sacred under international law, are openly questioned or boldly attacked. How shall they be maintained? Shall the conquests be retained or abandoned? What will be our plight in the eyes of nations and what the fate of native individuals and tribes, if we renounce ownership and beat a retreat? Are they a property to be cared for by especial enactment of Congress, or an integral part of the nation and already under the panoply of the constitution? Are their people wards to be ruled and educated into enlightened and civilized standards of citizenship, or are they now of us and with us in franchise, law, commercial custom and social usage? Is territorial expansion politic, and does it presage imperialism and militarism? These and a score of similar issues arising out of our new departure are bidding for consideration.

It is evident that from their weight and importance they must prove to be the most engaging features of the coming presidential campaign, and of our leading legislation for a number of years. The value of broad, sagacious statesmanship and of wide knowledge among the people respecting them cannot be too highly appreciated. However much they may divide old parties or encourage new ones, the final decision must be on the basis of a comprehensive nationalism, for they concern the welfare and destiny of the country as an integer among the great powers of earth rather than the petty triumphs of bitter and narrow partisanship.

"Men and Issues of 1900" is planned to embrace and present to the reading masses the best thoughts of the best minds of statesmen and publicists upon the vital questions that are pressing for solution. The contributors to its pages are those competent to speak from their great knowledge of public affairs and their high positions in national councils and educative walks. They represent the various political schools and parties, thus assuring a work of non-partisan spirit, more thoroughly exhaustive of the pending issues than otherwise could be, and one far fuller of interest to the general reader. As a symposium of thoughts and opinions emanating from distinguished and authoritative sources, as a repertory of information indispensable to every one, the work is not only a timely offering pending the great quadrennial occasion of choosing a president, but invaluable for reading and reference so long as its momentous themes remain controversial and demand settlement.

The publishers have comported with the title and spirit of the work and greatly enhanced its beauty and value by an elaborate presentation of portraits of the men who have contributed to its chapters and who are representative of the solid sentiments and true impulses of the nation. These numerous and imposing embellishments are a source of character study and entertaining in themselves, while they serve to enrich the work by one of the most costly and pains-taking resorts of the publisher's art. It is to be hoped that the work will meet all the demands of public taste, and those wide intellectual demands created by the importance of its subjects and the character of its contributors.

James P. Boyd

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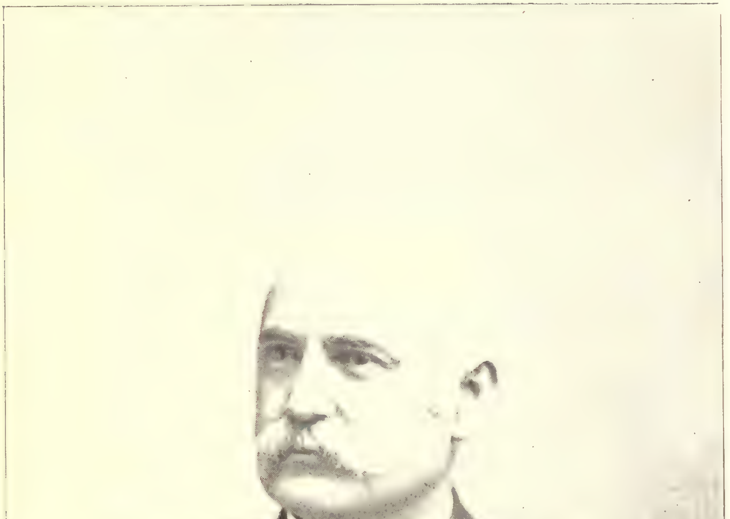
NELSON W. ALDRICH.

Nelson Wilmarth Aldrich, of Providence, R. I., was born at Foster, in that State, on November 6, 1841. He received the education of the common schools, and afterward that of the academy. He came into political life as president of the Providence Common Council in 1871-73. In 1875-76, he served as a member of the Rhode Island General Assembly, filling, in the latter year the chair of the Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was elected to the House of Representatives of the Forty-sixth Congress, and was re-elected to the Forty-seventh Congress. On October 5, 1881, he was elected to the United States Senate, to succeed Ambrose E. Burnside, Republican, and took his seat December 5, 1881. He was re-elected to the Senate for the terms 1886, 1892 and 1898. His term of service will expire March 3, 1905.

Mr. Aldrich's position as chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance has rendered him conspicuous in the currency legislation of the country, especially that of the Fifty-sixth Congress, which resulted in, what is supposed to be, a final settlement of the gold standard and the elimination of bimetallic, or free silver, theories from national politics. His presentation of currency issues, whether in reports or debates, has been clear-cut and masterful, and he has justly won the rank of one of the most profound students of financial affairs. Besides filling the arduous and responsible position of chairman of the Committee on Finance, he is a prominent and industrious member of the Senate Committees on Interstate Commerce, Corporations organized in the District of Columbia, Rules, and of the newly organized committee, Relations with Cuba, the last a committee which greatly demands just such organizing and administrative ability as his.



NELSON WILMARTH ALDRICH.

WILLIAM VINCENT ALLEN.

WILLIAM VINCENT ALLEN.

William Vincent Allen, Populist, of Madison, Nebraska, was born in Midway, Madison County, Ohio, January 28, 1847; removed with his family to Iowa in 1857; was educated in the common schools of Ohio and Iowa, and attended the Upper Iowa University, at Fayette, for a time, but was not graduated; was a private soldier in Company G, Thirty-second Iowa Volunteer Infantry, during the war of the rebellion, being on the staff of Brig. Gen. James I. Gilbert the last few months of his service; read law at West Union, Iowa, and was admitted to the bar May 31, 1869; practiced law from that time until elected judge of the district court of the ninth judicial district of Nebraska in the autumn of 1891; was married May 2, 1870, to Miss Blanche Mott, by whom he has one son and three daughters; was permanent president of the Nebraska Populist conventions in 1892 and 1894; was permanent president of the National Populist Convention held at St. Louis, Mo., July, 1896; was elected to the United States Senate February 7, 1893, to succeed Hon. Algeron Sidney Paddock, and served through the Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses; was appointed judge of the district court of the ninth judicial district of Nebraska March 9, 1899, to fill a vacancy; was elected judge November 7, 1899, for the full term to begin on the first Thursday in January, 1900; was appointed United States Senator December 13, 1899, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Hon. M. L. Hayward; resigned his judgship three days later and took his seat in the United States Senate December 19, 1899. Mr. Allen has rendered distinguished service as a member of the Senate Committees on Agriculture and Forestry, Claims, Forest Reservation and Protection of Game, Inter-state Commerce, Pensions, and the Philippines. Whether in the Senate or on the platform, he readily ranks as one of the most vigorous defenders of the principles of progressive Populism.

RIGHT OF TERRITORIAL ACQUISITION.

EVERY acquisition of territory thus far made by the United States has precipitated ardent debate as to the right of acquisition as well as the terms thereof. Notwithstanding the fact that a sufficient number of acquisitions have been actually made to furnish long lines of precedents and establish a consensus of opinions both judicial and popular, those recent acquisitions resulting from the Spanish-American war come in for even a larger share of debate, sometimes interesting, sometimes acrimonious, but always educative. This may be accounted for by the fact that former acquisitions were deliberate and predicated upon a policy, political or otherwise, while this last came as a sudden result of martial power, pregnant with question and discussion. The highest and first of all issues involved is the right to take and hold the fruits of victory. What logically follows is that long series of problems involving the policy of extension and methods of control.

Though the abstract right to take and hold foreign territory, whether by purchase or conquest, is pretty generally conceded in the discussions respecting our recent insular acquisitions, yet arguments are many, and some of them ingenious, as to the particular right to take and hold the Philippine archipelago. The arguments in denial of such particular right seek, first, to limit territorial acquisitions to some necessary use to which it can be put, as, for instance, coaling stations or fortifications. Second, they base such right upon a previously declared purpose to incorporate acquired territory as part of our union of States, and they bring to bear a long history of precedents, covering our main acquistions up to, but not including, that of Alaska. Third, the argument most enlarged upon, and most depended upon, is the one of invalid title. This argument had not been used as to former acqusitions, but it became prominent in respect to the Philippines, and took the form of a denial of the right of the United States to acquire what Spain had no right to cede; that is, the Spanish title being invalid, that of the United States must be equally so. This conclusion is, of course, invincible in law; but as every stable and righteous conclusion must rest upon unshaken and unshakable premises, it became necessary to prove beyond question the invalidity of Spain's title. This attempt involved the rather difficult task of showing that the Filipinos had conquered Spain prior to her cession of the Philippines to the United States, and had set up a government of their own. That they were an independent people who had dispossessed Spain of her sovereignty in the archipelago and of all right to transfer it to another. So the discussion ran, and so it will continue as long as the question of a fixed governmental control of these acquisitions remains an open question.

POWER OF THE UNITED STATES TO ACQUIRE AND GOVERN FOREIGN TERRITORY.

By HON. WILLIAM LINDSAY,
U. S. Senator, Kentucky.

IN the consideration of those questions of Federal power to which exceptional prominence has been given by the joint resolution of Congress and the Treaty of Paris, we must distinguish between constitutional grants affecting the states and the people of the states, and those which affect our relations with the world at large. In all the changes since the Declaration of Independence, the General Government has had exclusive charge of our foreign relations. "To the rest of the world, the States composing this Union are now and have ever been known in no other than their united confederated character, abroad, to the rest of the world, they are but one. It is only at home, in their interior relations that they are many, and it is to this two-fold aspect that their motto, E Pluribus Unum, appropriately and emphatically applies."

The first ten amendments to the Constitution emphasize this distinction. They stand as barriers between Federal power on the one side, and the states and the people of the states on the other. No one of them abridges or attempts to abridge the authority of the General Government over foreign affairs, and that authority, as I have said, embraces all powers pertaining to the relations of the states and the people, with the rest of the world.

While the treaty of peace with Spain was yet unconsidered by the Senate, the point was made that the acquisition of sovereignty over the Philippines would impose the duty of ultimately erecting states out of their territory, on the ground that all territory acquired by the government, except such as may be necesary for coaling stations, the correction of boundaries and similar governmental purposes, must be acquired and governed with the purpose of eventually organizing it into States suitable for admission into the Union.

We may congratulate ourselves that we have now an occasion for dispassionate investigation; that we may now separate questions of power and duty from considerations of policy and expediency; that, free from the influence of partisan politics, with judicial moderation and fairness, and in the light of contemporaneous and established construction, we may examine the nature and extent of the conceded power of the government to acquire territory, and of the duty of Congress to provide for the government of the people thereof.

"The Constitution confers absolutely on the Government of the Union the power of making war and of making treaties, consequently that Government possesses the power of acquiring territory either by conquest or by treaty."

This was the deliverance of the Supreme Court on the first occasion that Tribunal found it necesary to decide this great question. Mr. Jefferson doubted the existence of the power when he treated for the purchase of Louisiana, but it is now universally conceded.

Whether the thirteen original states became free and independent in their separate capacities, or free and independent as a union of colonies converted into a union of states by the Declaration of Independence and the successful prosecution of the War of the Revolution—in either event, those states, after their independence had been acknowledged, possessed full power to conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. The power to declare and prosecute war was vested in the general government by the constitution, without qualifications expresed or implied; and the power to negotiate treaties was conferred in language equally comprehensive and explicit. As the representative of the States and of the people, the authority of the government to prosecute the war against Spain, to destroy the Spanish fleets, to capture the Spanish armies, and to hold and occupy Spanish territory, is not open to question. The right to make peace includes the right to fix the terms and conditions upon which peace shall be made; and those terms may lawfully include the cession of territory won by American valor. The war with Mexico fifty years ago and the treaty through which peace was then restored, are prototypes of the recent war with Spain and the treaty of peace with that country. A victorious conflict, followed by the cession of the vast region embraced by the Mexican States of New Mexico and Upper California, with the payment to Mexico of fifteen million dollars, and a victorious war followed by the cession of Porto Rico and the Philippine Archipelago and the Island of Guam, with the payment to Spain of twenty million dollars, complete the analogy. The treaty with Mexico, following those with France and Spain for the cession of Louisiana and Florida, provided that the inhabitants of the ceded territory who might not choose to preserve their former citizenship should "be incorporated into the Union of the United States and be admitted at the proper time (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States according to the principles of the constitution."

The Treaty of Paris differs, in that it contains no such stipulation. Spanish subjects, natives of the Peninsula, may remain in the ceded territories and preserve their allegiance to the crown of Spain by making before a Court of Record a declaration of their intention to preserve it, "in default of which declaration, they shall be held to have renounced it and to have adopted the nationality of the territory in which they reside."

"The civil rights and the political status of the native inhabitants of the territory ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress," but, they "shall be secured in the free exercise of their religion." These treaty stipulations impose no obligations on the United States to organize the ceded territories into states preparatory to their admission into the Union.

It is said to be inconsistent with the fundamental idea of free institutions for this government to retain territory under its Imperial rule and deny the people the customary local institutions. But it is not contrary to that idea to retain such territory, securing to the people all the customary local institutions they may prove themselves competent to administer, and all the civil rights that free institutions are intended to protect.

Historically speaking, all the territories acquired prior to 1867 have been held and governed with the view to their ultimate erection into states of the Union, but it is equally true that the title to Louisiana, our first acquisition, was acquired for the accomplishment of a purpose altogether different. The treaty with France for the cession of Louisiana; the treaty with Spain for the cession of Florida; the treaty with Mexico for the cession of New Mexico and Upper California, and the Gadsden Treaty, each substantially provided that the inhabitants of the ceded territory should be incorporated into the Union of the United States and admitted, at the proper time, to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United

States. The treaty with Russia for the cession of Alaska, negotiated in 1867, provided that Russians who might elect to remain in that country, should be permitted the enjoyment of the advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States, and be protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion, but made no provision that those inhabitants, or any of them, should ever "be incorporated into the Union of the United States." The deliberate omission oi that stipulation from that Treaty, was significant of a change of policy. It was the virtual assertion of constitutional power in the General Government to acquire foreign territory not necessary for coaling stations, the correction of boundaries, or other similar uses, with no design or expectation of organizing it into states for admission into the Union.

If the erection of states out of the territory of Louisiana was in the mind of Mr. Jefferson at all, it was not the controlling consideration with him, or with either of his Commissioners, when the Treaty of Cession was negotiated. To provide against threatened dangers; to escape a perplexing situation, as a necessary measure for the preservation of peace with France, and as a substitute for the entangling alliance with Great Britain, the Louisiana territory was acquired, and it would have been acquired had it been an irreclaimable desert, or worse, a fertile country densely inhabited by a race without capacity for self government and morally and intellectually incapable of ever being prepared to discharge, or even to comprehend, the duties of American citizenship. The possession of Louisiana by France would have been an obstruction to the safety and prosperity of the United States. To prevent that obstruction, and not for the creation or admission of new states into the Union, the purchase was made.

The power to admit new states, except those erected within the original boundaries of the Union, was then an undecided and disputed proposition. It was denied by statesmen and lawyers of distinction and ability. When the territory of Louisiana applied for admission as a state, the application met with determined opposition. It was insisted that the admission would impair the dignity and reduce the relative importance of the original states, and would be in derogation of their constitutional rights.

Mr. Jefferson doubted his authority to acquire by treaty the ceded territory, without the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution. He agreed that there was no power to admit into the Union new States erected in the Louisiana territory. His doubts as to the constitutional power to acquire the territory were overruled by Congress. His belief that the states erected in such territory could not be constitutionally admitted into the Union did not prevail; but his doubts as to the one proposition and his belief concerning the other, effectually rebut the assumption that the treaty was made and ratified with the purpose on the part of those in authority to govern the territory to the end that ultimately it should be organized into states and admitted into the Union, under the belief that such purpose was essential to the constitutional validity of the title acquired.

In the absence of treaty stipulations creating it, no trust attaches to the ownership and dominion of the United States over the national territories, in favor of a state that may or may not be organized, or if organized, may or may not be admitted into the Union. The United States are in law, and in fact, the absolute owners of the national territories, and are chargeable with no trust in favor of successors, which can only come into existence at their unrestrained discretion.

The admission of new states is essentially a discretionary power. New states may be admitted by Congress into the Union. The grant implies power, not duty. Congress has the "discretion to refuse as well as to admit." It may be doubted, whether the discretion to refuse can be taken away or abridged by treaty.

It does not follow, because our recently acquired territories are never to be admitted into the Union that Congress may legislate for them without restriction, or that they may be governed by laws and regulations inconsistent with the principles of constitutional liberty.

While the United States have supreme power over the national territories and their inhabitants, and while all the discretion incident to legislative power is vested in Congress for making rules and regulations respecting them, yet this sovereign dominion is to be exercised in harmony with the principles of free institutions. The inhabitants of the territories can demand no political rights. Practically speaking they are the wards of the general government, without political rights or political status. It rests with Congress to say whether any of the people resident in a territory shall exercise the rights of suffrage in the election of their local officers, and that right, when granted, may be freely taken away; but notwithstanding all this, "the personal and civil rights of the inhabitants of the territories are secured to them as to every citizen by the principles of constitutional liberty, which restrain all the agencies of government, state and national."

We frequently speak of certain individual or personal rights as "constitutional rights," because they happen to fall within the protecting influence of some express provision of the Constitution. It does not follow that other rights, not so expressly protected, are enjoyed at the arbitrary will of government. To take them from the people is to convert a free government into a despotism. To leave them without the sanction of the law, as administered by the courts, is to destroy the stability of free institutions. Those rights may not be enumerated, but their preservation is none the less assured.

Arbitrary power over life, liberty and property exists nowhere in a republic, not even in the largest majority. It will not exist in the government of the United States, in the exercise of its jurisdiction over the lives, liberty and property of the people of the Philippines, and in providing for their government, it will not be necessary to contravene the principles of the Constitution or to override the Declaration of Independence.

Abstract truths and general principles are to be reasonably applied to the affairs of life, especially to the affairs of government. Conditions of hardship are to be ameliorated as circumstances will permit.

Men and women were held in slavery and deprived of their civil and personal rights, in each of the thirteen colonies at the time their representatives declared "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. That among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The Constitution, which was ordained twelve years afterwards, recognized the legal existence of slavery and provided for the arrest and return of fugitive slaves.

The declaration as to the inalienable rights of man is none the less true because slavery lived under the American Union from 1776 to 1866, and only ceased to exist at the end of a war in which freedom came, if not as a military necessity, as a measure deemed almost indispensable to military success.

Commenting on the incompatibility of slavery with the inalienable rights of man, Henry Clay used the language of practical statesmanship when he said: "It is a general declaration in the act announcing to the world the independence of the thirteen American colonies, that all men are created equal. Now, as an abstract principle, there is no doubt of the truth of that declaration, and it is desirable in the original construction of society and in the organized societies to keep it in view as a great fundamental principle. But then I apprehend that in no society that ever did exist, or ever shall be formed was or can the equality asserted among the human race be practically enforced and carried out."

This principle cannot be literally enforced in the adjustment of our relations with the Philippines, but the declaration is to be kept in view as a great fundamental doctrine, controlling, as far as circumstances will permit, the organization and preservation of orderly administration, though its literal application may for the time be denied, as our fathers denied it, when it leads to anarchy and lawlessness, or renders stable and orderly government impossible, or increases the difficulties in the way of establishing liberal institutions.

To substitute the control of the United States for the control of Spain in the Philippines; to introduce American institutions in the room and stead of Spanish methods; to replace absolute and unlimited power with the restraining principles of Constitutional liberty, will not be to contravene this great fundamental principle. It will be the first step in securing to the inhabitants of those distant countries the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It will be to the people of these islands the dawn of a morning which in God's providence will ripen into a day of deliverance from tyranny and oppression at the hands of either a foreign master or a home-bred despot.

To secure the inalienable rights of man, governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. To the want of consent by the Filipinos much importance is given. Their want of opportunity to express consent receives no consideration. We cannot presume that the offer of law and order through stable government to a people who have never enjoyed the blessings of either, would be rejected, could they be afforded the opportunity to consider the offer and freely to express their will. Insurgent chieftains may challenge our admiration and arouse our sympathy, but they and their followers cannot be permitted to decide for eight million people whether they are willing to accept orderly government administered under the restraints of American institutions. Our forefathers did not take up arms against the British King for the mere assertion of the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Their claim was, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of the ends of government, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.

American dominion in the Philippines will destroy none of the ends of Government; will disregard no one of the inalienable rights of man; will sanctify no abuse or usurpation, but will terminate the despotism under which their people have lived for more than three hundred years.

The United States did not ask the consent of the inhabitants of Louisiana, or Florida, or New Mexico, or Upper California, to the cessions made by France and Spain and the Republic of Mexico, nor was it understood when we assumed sovereign jurisdiction over those peoples, that we were violating the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Orderly government faithfully administered in the interests of the governed superinduces consent. New Mexico and Arizona have been governed as Territories more than fifty years. Congress has governed the District of Columbia more than a hundred years, yet the Declaration of Independence is neither dead nor sleeping. It remains the thought and spirit of the Constitution and continues to command the reverence of all our people.

The right to withdraw consent, and to form independent national relations was put to the test by the seceding states in 1861. The effort was supported by armies such as the world had never seen, by statesmanship, generalship, heroism, courage and devotion which challenged universal admiration; but the experiment failed because the majority of the people of the United States did not concede the proposition that consent can be withdrawn, except for sufficient cause, and denied the existence of any such cause to the states of the South.

Secession was the free act of the people of the seceding States, the offspring of their free and unforced will. It was the formal withdrawal of consent to the authority of the general government, manifested in the most unmistakable way; yet the deliberate judgment of the dominant majority of the people of the United States was, that their brethren of the South could be lawfully constrained by force to submit to Federal authority, and that they could be so constrained, within the reasonable application of the maxim that the just powers of government spring from the consent of the governed.

The Filipinos have never been free. For nearly three hundred and fifty years they have lived under the arbitrary control of the Spanish crown. In submitting to the authority of the United States they surrender no privilege or immunity. It cannot be that their right to a government to which they give their consent is more sacred than was the like right to the people of the seceding States. It has been judicially declared that we have "An Indestructible Union of Indestructible States." The war against the armies of the South was fought to a successful conclusion, because the majority believed it more important to preserve that Union, than to accede to the literal application of an abstract principle, which, however correct, logically led to its dissolution.

Government is not an abstraction. It is the reasonable application of correct principles to conditions which, though they cannot be wholly overcome, may be so molded as to better subserve the interest of justice, peace and order. By the exercise of political reason our Constitution was ordained and a more perfect Union established. In the light of political reason our affairs have been administered in the past, and political reason, if we patiently follow its dictates, will enable us to solve the problems now before us, in harmony with the limitations of the Constitution and in practical accord with the great principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence.

All experience teaches that consent follows good government. In point of time, little more than a generation has passed since the disturbing question of secession was settled by an appeal to arms. The recollections of the Civil War and its horrors still linger, the bitter memories of the days of Reconstruction are yet alive with those of us from the South whose heads are whitened by the snows of time; but in all this broad land, there is to-day a common feeling, a universal agreement, that we are living under a government of unreserved consent. When we look across the inland seas to the North and see the popular sentiment of the Dominion of Canada manifesting itself through the leadership of a French-

Canadian; when we look abroad in our own country and see the soldiers of the Confederacy and their sons assisting as Legislators to frame our laws, and as Judges to administer them, we cannot doubt that the establishment of orderly government in the Islands of the Philippines will secure the consent of their people to the just and benevolent sway of the American Republic.

An objection much insisted on is the impolicy of conferring on the Asiatic inhabitants of the Philippines the right of American citizenship, with its attendant advantages in the American states and territories. The treaty does not purport to secure them that right. On the contrary, it remits the civil rights and status of that people to the discretion of Congress.

The Treaty of Paris makes no provision for the incorporation of the people of the Philippines into the Union, or for their enjoyment of the privileges, rights or immunities of citizens of the United States. It omits the stipulation of the Russian Treaty ceding Alaska, that the civilized inhabitants of that country "shall have the immunities of citizens of the United States."

The native inhabitants of those countries are to have their civil rights and political status determined by Congress, and the power of Congress is unlimited, so far as the Treaty of cession is concerned, except that the inhabitants are to be secured in the free exercise of their religion.

It does not follow because the civil rights and political status of the Philippine people are to be determined by Congress, that the power of Congress over them is omnipotent. Congress will exercise legislative power practically free from restraint by the Treaty, but subject to the restraints of constitutional institutions.

It may be admitted that we ought not permanently to annex a country whose inhabitants are incapable of attaining capacity for self government, and the climate of which forbids the migration of Americans or Europeans in numbers sufficient eventually to control political and social conditions.

I do not claim that the government of the United States is especially adapted to a colonial policy, or that its methods of administration qualify it, in any marked degree, to hold and govern dependencies in any portion of the world, proximate or remote. On the contrary, it is of doubtful expediency to hold colonies or dependencies at all, and such holding can only be justified by necessity. When, however, duty admits of no escape without the sacrifice of national honor or dignity, the necessity exists.

In the division of powers between the general and state governments, those delegated to the general government affecting the direction and control of domestic affairs are enumerated and specified, and to those grants the rule of strict construction is reasonably applicable. It is not so in regard to the powers affecting and controlling our relations with the outside world. It was truthfully said by Mr. Calhoun that "so imperious was the necessity of the Union and a common government to take charge of their foreign relations that it may be safely affirmed not only that it led to the formation, but that without it the states never would have been united."

If it be insisted that these plenary powers do not apply to outlying countries after they have been brought under the dominion of the United States by treaties of cession, it must also be conceded that the limitations of the Constitution, in the absence of Congressional action, do not extend to such countries.

One other phase of the Philippine question deserves passing consideration. The relation of the United States to the insurrectionary movement in those countries have been compared to those of France and the United States at the close of our Revolutionary War, the point being made that France could have as consistently treated with Great Britain for the cession of the American States as the United States could treat with Spain for the cession of the Philippine Archipelago. The difference in the two situations is as palpable as it is radical. The American colonies did not commence their war with Great Britain after France had practically broken down the British power in North America. They did not organize their military forces under the protection of French fleets and armies. Two years before French intervention their independence had been solemnly declared, and before a Frenech ship or a French soldier took part in their contest with the mother country, the independence of the United States had been recognized by France by a treaty of alliance in which it was stipulated and declared that:

"If war should break out between France and Great Britain during the continuance of the war between the United States and England, His Majesty and the said United States shall make it a common cause and aid each other mutually with their good offices, their counsels and their forces according to the exigence of conjunctures as become good and faithful allies," and that:

"The essential and direct end of the present defensive alliance is to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty and independence absolute and unlimited of the United States as well in matters of government as of commerce."

In the prosecution of a just war against Spain the United States made the Philippines a point of attack. No organized or formidable insurrection was then in progress in those countries. Aguinaldo was voluntarily absent. He did not

CHARLES H. ALLEN.

First Governor of Porto Rico.

Charles H. Allen was born in Lowell, Mass., and after passing through the public schools, graduated at Amherst College in 1869. Though a good writer and speaker, he entered upon a manufacturing career. While still a young man he served in many local offices, and then in the Massachusetts House in 1881 and 1882, then in the Masaschusetts Senate in 1883, and in Congress for two terms. Against his will he was nominated for Governor of Massachusetts in 1891, against Wililam E. Russell. He came to the Navy Department as Assistant Secretary in 1898, at the age of fifty-two, at a personal sacrifice and as a patriotic duty. He at once greatly improved the work of the office and became the alter ego of the Secretary, performing his duties with satisfaction during his absence. No other official ever had more of the respect and regard of the navy than he. His discretion, firmness, courage, tact and unvarying courtesy, together with wonderful organizing and executive ability, were qualities which commended him to the President as an ideal civic ruler of Porto Rico. He had already visited the island and studied its institutions and people. He entered upon the duties of Governor at San Juan on May 1st, 1900. The spirit of his incumbency is foreshadowed in remarks made at the time of his appointment. Said he: "My own inclination and my personal interests urge me to decline the appointment; but one should not always choose the easy way; there is a patriotic duty sometimes to be performed. My effort shall be to administer the government so as to command and hold the confidence of the people; to help them to realize the best there is in them, and to assist them in the development of the island along the lines which have made us a prosperous nation."

CHARLES H. ALLEN.

WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON.

WILLIAM B. ALLISON.

William Boyd Allison, of Dubuque, Iowa, was born at Perry, Ohio, on March 2, 1829. After a preliminary education, he entered the Western Reserve College, Ohio, where his scholastic education was completed. He then studied law and entered upon practice of his profession in Ohio. He continued to practice there with marked success until 1857, when he removed to Iowa. During the Civil War he served upon the Governor's staff and, especially during the earlier years of the war, was an efficient factor in the organization of volunteers for service. On entering active politics he was elected to the Thirty-eighth Congress, and was re-elected to the Thirty-ninth, Fortieth and Forty-first Congresses, in all of which he signalized his membership by industry, ability in constructive legislation, and unusual power in debate. In 1872 he was elected to the United States Senate, to succeed James Harlan, Republican, and took his seat on March 4, 1873. He was re-elected to the Senate for the terms 1878, 1884, 1890, and 1896, his last term expiring on March 3, 1903. As chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, Mr. Allison deserved repute for sagacious investigation and prudent management of economic affairs. His reports and speeches have been apt, pointed, of great weight, and productive of desired results. In mental equipment, directness of thought and expression, and the amenities that conciliate, he readily ranks as one of the first of statesmen. He has also served with distinction on the Senate Committees of Finance, Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress, Geological Survey, and the newly constructed committee on the Philippine Islands. In December, 1892, he served as a delegate from the United States to the International Monetary Congress which met at Brussels, Belgium.

return until after the destruction of the Spanish fleet and after the Americans had become practically masters of the local situation. The presence of American ships and soldiers protected him and his followers from Spanish attack. Advantage was taken of conditions the Filipinos had little or no hand in bringing about, for the organization of the insurrectionary army and for the establishing of, so far as it has been established, the revolutionary government. Whatever strength the insurgents were able to exhibit, and whatever advantages they may have gained over the Spanish army of occupation, are directly traceable to a war which the United States commenced with no direct view, if any view at all, to the amelioration of the Philippine conditions. Aguinaldo's government has not to this day been recognized by any country. The American commanders notified him from time to time of their want of authority to recognize it. He and his troops were not allies of the United States. They received no recognition or countenance from the American commanders other than such as the commander of an invading army may, without compromising the future action of his own government, extend to dissatisfied and insurrectionary subjects of the government against which the war is being prosecuted.

The assistance rendered by Aguinaldo and his forces to the American army and navy in no wise affected the result of the campaign. The surrender of the Spanish troops at Manila was inevitable. The presence there of the insurgent army was an embarrassing, if not a disturbing incident. It eventually became a menace to the lives and property of the inhabitants of Manila, whom the Americans, after the surrender of that city, were under the highest obligations to protect.

The revolutionary government represents at the utmost less than one-fourth of the inhabitants of the islands, and, as to them, it is a government of force rather than consent. It had received no recognition of its belligerency from either Spain or the United States, at the time the protocol was signed, or when the treaty was negotiated, or at the time of its ratification. The United States were under no obligation to treat with the insurgents concerning their future status in the invaded country, and, in contracting with Spain for the permanent cession of the Philippines, our government exercised a right absolutely defensible in morals and in law.

When Aguinaldo and his chieftains determined to resist the transfer of the Philippine allegiance from Spain to the United States, they elected to continue a war which the Spanish government had solemnly renounced and abandoned. They tendered an issue which the United States could not refuse, and doing so, they assumed responsibility for all the evils that have come, or may hereafter come to the Philippine people from a contest, which on their part is as inexcusable as it is manifestly hopeless.

Having overthrown the authority of Spain against which the Filipinos, for countless generations had vainly struggled, we sought to give them free institutions under a government able to maintain, and pledged to uphold, peace, justice and order. We offered not principalities or powers, or largesses, or subsidies, to ambitious chieftains, but protection to the lives, liberty and property of the people, and it was indefensible and wicked in those disappointed chieftains to turn their arms against us. There can be but one ending to the unfortunate contest. The sovereign authority of the United States will be established, and under and through their beneficent control, peace will take place of war, order will supplant lawlessness, and justice and mercy prevail, where force and fraud and cruelty once seemed to have their perpetual abiding place.

We have extended our domain into and across the Pacific but we have not changed the nature of our government, or the character of our institutions. Ours is still a Union of American states and will so remain to the end. The bond of Union by which the states are held together was ordained and established as the "Constitution for the United States of America." Our policy, our traditions, our interests and our glory alike forbid the admission into the Union of any other than a North American state.

It does not follow, however, that we are to shrink from the full and faithful discharge of the new duty which we find ourselves under to the civilized world, and more especially to the distant islands of the Eastern Seas. That duty was not of our seeking. It came as the culmination of events which human agencies could not control or direct. We would gladly escape it if escape were possible, but recognizing that there is no honorable avenue of retreat, we take it up, appreciating all its difficulties and responsibilities, with the fixed purpose of discharging it to the uttermost. We do this with no desire for indefinite expansion; with no design of establishing a general colonial policy; but with the earnest hope that after our national authority shall have been established, and established it will be, the people of the Philippines may show themselves capable of upbuilding and maintaining a local government of their own. If failure attends our efforts, it will be but another instance of defeated hopes and disappointed expectations. But if by holding up the hands of those who aspire to orderly and stable institutions, we shall open the way to a home government, under which individual rights will be respected, domestic tranquility insured, and life, liberty and property protected, by the fixed and regular administration of just and equal laws, we shall give another and striking evidence of man's capacity for self-government, and, over and above all considerations of pecuniary or commercial advantages, however great they may be, we shall be compensated for the blood and treasure we have expended and may expend, by the consciousness of having secured to the inalienable rights of man a wider field, and to free institutions the opportunity to extend their blessings to the human family in a quarter of the world in which despotism has had its undisputed reign from the earliest period of recorded time.

William Lindsay

IMPERIALISM.

By HON. JOHN D. LONG,
Secretary of the Navy.

GREAT issues not contemplated in party platforms have arisen, and here, too, the record is one illustrious for all time. The Spanish war was precipitated upon us, and never was victory achieved in a righteous cause more swiftly and surely and effectively. Whether on land or on sea, whether in the hand of the sailor or of the soldier, the flag has floated with a still brighter luster. It is true that our territorial acquisitions have brought new and most serious problems. Here, however, the calm, judicial mind will practically discriminate between those questions which are already settled and those which are before us.

The Philippine Islands are ours by our victory over Spain and by purchase for a price which Congress paid, and for which Spain conveyed them to us by the solemn compact of a treaty. They are ours, too, also by the acquiescence of the larger part of the native inhabitants.

I wish particularly to call to your attention the fact that the consent of the governed, so far as it is involved in this matter, is not altogether lacking, and it well may be claimed that practically the lack of the consent of these people, so far as a majority is concerned has never been shown. Beside, even if we were to refuse to accept the government because we do not have the consent of all the governed there, to whom should we surrender it? Certainly not to Aguinaldo, for he represents but a small fraction of the people. Certainly not to the Tagalos, between whom and other tribes is the most violent animosity, so that it would be the refinement of cruelty to subject one of these tribes to the other. Any of these dispositions would lack the consent of the governed more than our own domination.

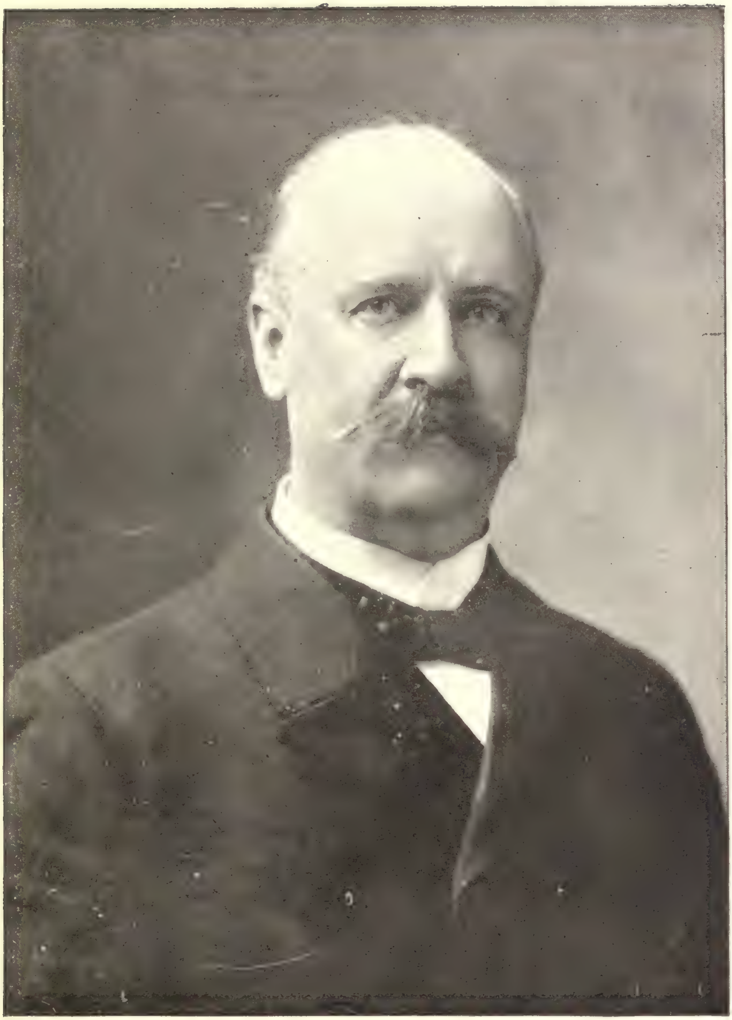
Going further, we could not let the islands loose and abandon them to whomsoever might get the control, for there is no unanimity of feeling, or common association among them, and the imediate result would be the sovereignty of some other foreign power, or the assumption of power by some one class among the natives over another. As a result there would be either anarchy, or an oligarchy of violence, such as has been the experience in the West Indies and other islands.

We are, there, then, by right, and we are bound to stay by every duty. It is not a theory that confronts us, but a condition. We, therefore, ask our critics not to spin theories of what might have been done, but to co-operate with us and help us take up our duty and discharge it.

It may occur to the anti-imperialists that they are to some extent, for such is human nature, holding to an opposition because they originally took it, and are not quite willing to open their eyes to more light; that they are not crediting the administration with the same honest desire which they have, and which they know it has, to do right; and that when it differs from them, their inclination is without any warrant to accuse it of some malicious purpose or perverted political twist. They say they are sick of the word "philanthropy." If that word is a covering for inhumanity, they are right. If, however, there is an honest philanthropic purpose, the word is a correct one. It is just as easy for us to say that we are sick of hearing them talk about liberty if they are using that word to cover a scheme for abandoning a majority of Filipinos to the tyran-

AUGUSTUS OCTAVIUS BACON.

Augustus Octavius Bacon, of Macon, Ga., was born in Bryan County, Ga., October 20, 1839; received a high school education in Liberty and Troup counties; graduated at the University of Georgia, in the literary and classical department in 1859, and in the law department in 1860; entered the Confederate army at the beginning of the war and served during the campaigns of 1861-1862 as adjutant of the Ninth Georgia Regiment in the Army of Northern Virginia; subsequently thereto was commissioned as captain in the Provisional army of the Confederate States and assigned to general staff duty; at the close of the war resumed the study of law, and began practice in 1866 at Macon, from which date he has actively continued the same both in the State and Federal courts; was frequently a member of State Democratic conventions; was president of the State Democratic convention in 1880, and was delegate from the State at large to the National Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1884; in 1868 he was elected Presidential Elector (Seymour and Blair) on the Democratic ticket; in 1871 was elected to the Georgia House of Representatives, of which body he served as a member for fourteen years; in this time, during two years he was the speaker pro tempore, and during eight years he was the speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives; was several times a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Georgia, and in the Democratic State convention of 1883 he came within one vote of a nomination for Governor, when the nomination was equivalent to an election; was elected to the United States Senate in November, 1894, for the term beginning March 4, 1895. His term expires March 3, 1901. His service in the Senate has embraced the responsible duties appertaining to membership of the committees on Foreign Relations, Indian Depredations, The Judiciary, Railroads, and Rules.



AUGUSTUS OCTAVIUS BACON.

JOSEPH WELDEN BAILEY.

JOSEPH WELDEN BAILEY.

Joseph Welden Bailey, Democrat, of Gainesville, Tex., was born in Copiah County, Miss., October 6, 1863; was admitted to the bar in 1883; served as a district elector on the Cleveland and Hendricks ticket in 1884; removed to Texas in 1885 and located at his present home; served as elector for the State at large on the Democratic ticket in 1888; was elected to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth, and Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, receiving 28,942 votes, to 3,842 for A. W. Atcheson, Republican, 5,210 for W. S. Holt, Populist, and 587 for J. W. Thomas, Independent. On the organization of the Fifty-fifth Congress, March 15, 1897, he was the Democratic nominee for Speaker of the House of Representatives, a position he well deserved of his party, whose leadership had fallen to him in the debates and parliamentary tactics upon the floor, and in which he showed tireless industry and watchfulness, wonderful versatility and tact, and an eloquenece that gave him high rank as orator. He served in the Fifty-sixth Congress as a resourceful member of the committees on Rules and Joint Committees on Washington Centennial. In the winter of 1899-1900, and following spring, he began to actively push his aspirations for the United States Senate, to succeed Senator Horace Chilton, whose term expired in 1901, and his campaign proved so successful that he was honored by the legislature with the post he sought by a handsome majority.

ny of a single tribe of Tagalogs. But this leads me to suggest that they, and indeed all the rest of us, are perhaps at this stage of things quarreling about terms, for words are often very despotic masters.

Whatever honest differences of opinion may have been had as to the acquisition of the Philippines or of our sovereignty over them, I cannot doubt that in our future dealings with them we shall find ourselves on common ground in the adoption of the most enlightened and generous policy.

We may differ about terms and theories, but do we not all agree, first, that the United States is now responsible for these islands; second, that we cannot give them back to Spain or abandon them; third, that if we were to adopt the plan of leaving them to themselves under a sort of remote and protectorating benediction, we should simply invite internal disorder, outside interference from foreign nations, national complications, and a great deal more war and bloodshed than we are likely to have if we go on as we are going, especially as the insurrection is now practically over, and another year will see the blessings of local government generally established there with the aid of the new commission, and the islands on their way rejoicing; and, fourth, that what we are all now aiming at, and ought to aim at, is to accomplish these very results of peace, good order, education and the better things.

There is no anti-imperialism simply because there has never yet been any imperialism.

Beside, if they help to bring in Mr. Bryan on the cry of anti-imperialism, which the Democratic party has taken up, as you know as a campaign cry, it would no more let the Philippines go than it would part with the collectorship of a custom house. Once in power they would immediately say that the wicked Republican party had fastened these islands upon the country, and the only thing to do is to make the best of them, and the most out of them.

What is needed even in their own behalf is not the antagonism of those of our Republican friends who have gone off from us on the Philippine question, but their co-operation which they can make effective and influential in molding and benefiting the policy of the government. They cannot sucure the present independence of the islands; that is settled, but they can turn to and help in giving them self government as rapidly as conditions will permit. The President has given all the conscience and patriotism and ability that are in him to his task. He is actuated by no selfish or interested motive. His sole aim is to do his duty by his country, and by these new wards of his country. His place is the hardest of all, because while others criticize, he must determine; and not only has he been honest, as the people know, but he has been wise. I know no mistake he has made. I know no other course he could have taken.

I feel tempted to ask his opponents what they would do if they were under the tremendous weight and responsibility of the great trust which is on his hands. Can they suggest any other way of dealing with present conditions than that which he has adopted; first, to restore order and suppress violence, and then by the selection of the very best men he can obtain from the whole country, to institute liberal government of the islands so as to insure them every blessing of our own institutions, and to give them local self-government just as far, and as rapidly, and as satisfactorily to the general consent so far as that can be ascertained, as can possibly be done.

The general form of their government under the treaty is to be determined by Congress, and so far as individual rights go, so far as the opportunity to get on in the world is concerned, so far as the blessings of industry, trade and social life are involved, their future under the United States is just as well secured and just as promising as your own.

Why go into ancient history and ask who is responsible for the present condition of things? Some think the Spaniards, some Aguinaldo, some the anti-imperialists, who encouraged him. Perhaps it would be well enough to say that God is responsible for it. At any rate, the situation is here, and if it had not been this situation, it would have been some other equally importunate, and it seems good common sense to meet it with a high, generous and united spirit. The Administration is floundering in no uncertainty. It is pursuing a straightforward course to order and peace and beneficent government. The Republican party will sustain it.

In dealing with our new island territories, the interesting question has arisen whether the limitations of the Constitution extend by its own force to them, or whether Congress has full power over them. For myself, I have never doubted that Webster, the great expounder of the Constitution, was right in the opinion which he so clearly stated, and which is recognized in the treaty of peace with Spain, by which these islands were ceded to us, that they are subject to legislation by Congress. I am of the school of Webster and not of Calhoun. The Republican party was founded upon the principle that the Constitution did not, of its own force, carry slavery into the Territories, but that these, by the plain letter of the Constitution, are subject to such rules and regulations as Congress shall determine.

Let no man fear that this interpretation of the Constitution will deprive these new people of any of the great fundamental civil rights which will go to them, Constitution or no Constitution, as a part of the very breath of the nostrils of an

American. Magna Charta and the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, embraced also in the early amendments of our national Constitution are all theirs. But in the mere administrative matters which pertain to the machinery of government, Congress will exercise its power. If it were not so, it is indeed true that the retention of these islands is simply impossible.

John Jay

THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY.

By WILLIAM McKINLEY,
President of the United States.

WE have had our blessings and our burdens and still have both. We will soon have legislative assurance of the continuance of the gold standard with which we measure our exchanges and we have the open door in the far East through which to market our products.

We are neither in alliance nor antagonism nor entanglement with any foreign power, but on terms of amity and cordiality with all. We buy from all of them and sell to all of them, and our sales exceeded our purchases in the past two years by over $1,000,000,000.

Markets have been increased and mortgages have been reduced. Interest has fallen and wages have advanced. The public debt is decreasing. The country is well to do; its people for the most part are happy and contented. They have good times and are on good terms with the nations of the world.

There, are, unfortunately, those among us, few in number, I am sure, who seem to thrive best under bad times and who, when good times overtake them in the United States, feel constrained to put us on bad terms with the rest of mankind. With them I have no sympathy. I would rather give expression to what I believe to be the nobler and almost universal sentiment of my countrymen in the wish not only for our peace but for the peace and prosperity of all the nations and peoples of the earth.

After thirty-three years of unbroken peace came an unavoidable war. Happily the conclusion was quickly reached without a suspicion of unworthy motive or practise or purpose on our part, and with fadeless honor to our arms. I cannot forget the quick response of the people to the country's need and the two hundred and fifty thousand men who freely offered their lives to their country's service. It was an impressive spectacle of national strength. It demonstrated our mighty reserve power and taught us that large standing armies are unnecessary when every citizen is a "minute man" ready to join the ranks for national defense.

Out of these recent events have come to the United States great trials and responsibilities. As it was the nation's war, so are its results the nation's problem. Its solution rests upon us all. It is too serious to stifle. It is too earnest for repose. No phrase or catchword can cancel the sacred obligation it involves. No use of epithet; no aspersion of motives by those who differ will contribute to that sober judgment so essential to right conclusions.

No political outcry can abrogate our treaty of peace with Spain or absolve us from its solemn engagements. It is the people's question and will be until its determination is written out in their enlightened verdict. We must choose between manly doing and base desertion. It will never be the latter. We must be soberly settled in justice and good conscience, and it will be. Righteousness, which exalteth a nation must control in its solution.

No great emergency has arisen in this nation's history and progress which has not been met by the sovereign people with high capacity, with ample strength and with unflinching fidelity to every honorable obligation. Partizanship can hold few of us against solemn public duty. We have seen this so often

WILLIAM B. BATE.

William B. Bate, Democrat, of Nashville, Tenn., was born near Castalian Springs, Tenn., and receied an academic education; when quite a youth served as second clerk on a steamboat between Nashville and New Orleans; served as a private throughout the Mexican war in Louisiana and Tennessee regiments; a year after returning from the Mexican war was elected to the Tennessee legislature; graduated from the Lebanon Law School in 1852 and entered upon the practice of his profession at Gallatin, Tenn.; in 1854 was elected Attorney-general for the Nashville District for six years; during his term of office was nominated for Congress, but declined; was a Presidential elector in 1860 on the Breckinridge-Lane ticket; was private, captain, colonel, brigadier-general, and major-general in the Confederate service, surrendering with the Army of Tennessee in 1865; was three times dangerously wounded; after the close of the war returned to Tennessee and resumed the practice of law; was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1868; served on the National Democratic Executive Committee for Tennessee twelve years; was an elector for the State at large on the Tilden and Hendricks ticket in 1876; in 1882 was elected Governor of Tennessee and re-elected in 1884 without opposition in his party; in January, 1887, was elected to the United States Senate, to succeed Washington C. Whitthorne, and took his seat March 4, 1887; was re-elected in 1893 and again in 1899. His term of service will expire March 3, 1905. Mr. Bate has been an acceptable and prominent member of the Senate Committees on Agriculture and Forestry, Improvement of Mississippi River, Military Affairs, Revolutionary Claims, and Territories. The same must be said of his service as chairman of the Senate Select Committee on the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians.

WILLIAM B. BATE.

JOHN C. BELL.

JOHN C. BELL.

John C. Bell, of Montrose, Colorado, was born in Grundy County, Tennessee, on December 11, 1851. His early education was acquired in the common schools of his native county. His higher studies were pursued at the town of Alto, where he remained for two years, and two years more were spent in an educational course at Boiling Fork, Franklin County, Tennessee. He then took up a law course in Winchester, Tenn., where he was admitted to the bar of that State in 1874. He did not enter upon practice there, but his ambitions being for the West, he moved, in the above mentioned year, to Colorado, and in June opened a law office in Saguache. He soon rose into prominence in his profession, and was appointed county attorney of Saguache County, in which position he served with credit until May, 1876, when he resigned and removed to Lake City, Colorado, then the most thriving city in the great San Juan mining region of the State. He was elected county clerk of Hinsdale County in 1878, but other engagements prevented him from performing the duties of the office personally. He was twice elected Mayor of Lake City, and, in August, 1885, resigned that position to enter into a law partnership with Hon. Frank C. Gondy, of Montrose, Col., to which place he moved, and where he has since resided. In 1888, he was elected Judge of the Seventh Judicial District of Colorado for a period of six years. In 1892, he was elected a member of the Fifty-Third Congress, for the Second Colorado District, and was re-elected to the Fifty-Fourth Congress in 1894, the Fifty-Fifth in 1896, and the Fifty-sixth in 1898. His political and public career has been distinguished by strong advocacy of the tenets of the Populist party. In Congress he served as a member of the committees on Appropriations, Labor, Agriculture and Capital, and Washington Centennial.

demonstrated in the past as to mark unerringly what it will be in the future.

The national sentiment and the national conscience were never stronger or higher than now. There has been a reunion of the people around the holy altar consecrated to country newly sanctified by common sacrifices. The followers of Grant and Lee have fought under the same flag and fallen for the same faith. Party lines have loosened and the ties of union have been rooted in the hearts of the American people.

Political passion has altogether subsided and patriotism glows with inextinguishable fervor in every home in the land. The flag has been sustained on distant seas and islands by the men of all parties and sections and creeds and races and nationalities, and its stars are only those of radiant hope to the remote peoples over whom it floats.

There can be no imperialism. Those who fear it are against it. Those who have faith in the Republic are against it. So that there is universal abhorrence for it and unanimous opposition to it.

Our only difference is that those who do not agree with us have no confidence in the virtue or capacity or high purpose or good faith of this free people as a civilizing agency; while we believe that the century of free government which the American people have enjoyed has not rendered them faithless and irresolute, but has fitted them for the great task of lifting up and assisting to better the conditions of those distant peoples who have through the issue of battle become our wards.

Let us fear not. There is no occasion for faint hearts, no excuse for regrets. Nations do not grow in strength, and the cause of liberty and law is not advanced by the doing of easy things. The harder the task the greater will be the result, the benefit and the honor. To doubt our power to accomplish it is to lose faith in the soundness and strength of our popular institutions.

The liberators will never become the oppressors. A self-governed people will never permit despotism in any government which they foster and defend.

We have the new care and can not shift it. And, breaking up the camp of ease and isolation, let us bravely and hopefully and soberly continue the march of faithful service and falter not until the work is done. It is not possible that seventy-five millions of American freemen are unable to establish liberty and justice and good goernement in our new possessions. The burden is our opportunity. The opportunity is greater than the burden. May God give us strength to bear the one and wisdom to embrace the other and to carry to our distant acquisitions the guarantees of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

William McKinley

RIGHT AND WRONG OF EXPANSION.

THIS momentous problem is not only single, but a seed-pod containing a myriad of other problems. It has every phase of existing discursiveness and future portentousness. It is most peculiar in that it was unsought and had no studied or deliberate origin. It sprang in a twinkling and with mighty and awful proportions out of the victory over Spain.

As part of a grand triumph, a resultant of national energy, skill and bravery, it was at first a problem welcomed by all as easy of solution. It soon become knotty. Parties divided upon it. One school of sentiment respecting it became so extreme as to declare that it should cease to be a problem at all by surrender of the material fruits of victory. Another school sees expansion fraught with "imperialism," "militarism," and innumerable other dangers. No matter what the school, the problem grows in seriousness the more it is studied.

At every turn of thought or investigation, it broadens and deepens, and taxes more and more the wisdom of sages and the intelligence and patriotism of the people. Despite attack and controversy, it is hardly likely that the palpable fact of expansion can ever be lost sight of, or trifled with, or repudiated. On the contrary, the fact is, or is to become, the pivot about which every thought, or theory, or doctrine of expansion must turn. The fact is a centre, not to be obscured by rhetorical dust nor obliterated by logical kicks, from which statecraft may, must, extend its radii, and around which it must draw its circumference. Here is abundant playground for every phase of opinion and every color of sentiment. Here is the proper battleground of parties. Here is the great, grand, true realm of duty and policy on the part of the nation, into which statesmen may enter as into an arena, accompanied by an enlightened people as hearers and witnesses. Expansion invites to new geographic possessions of land and water. It equally invites to new departures in insular government, diplomatic relations, ethnical associations, commercial aspirations, moral regulations. What so apropos as the question, shall the new ships of state that are to navigate the strange seas of the near future be as ably manned and as unerringly sailed as those material ones which brought us the oceanic prizes with their problems and responsibilities?

The disposition is to introduce the right and wrong expansion as a factor in the national campaign of 1900. Let it by all means go before the high tribunal of the people, to be sifted in their keen sight, and to be adjudged on its merits by their honest judgment. For every conceivable reason this would be well, for often in very serious matters that are long delayed, agitation produces irritation, and the voice of deliberation grows harsh and angry. It is not to be doubted that the people will prove brave with so monumental and far-reaching a question before them, nor that the verdict of the court of last resort will be other than just and acceptable, provided the respective political parties preserve a gravity speech, an adherence to intrinsic facts, and a heedfulness of the lessons of history, that comports with the seriousness of the main problem, and of the thousand minor problems that lie in its loins.

THE ETHICS OF EXPANSION.

By HON. MARRIOTT BROSIUS,
Member of Congress, Pennsylvania.

IT may be true that there is no decalogue for nations, and that the Sermon on the Mount was not addressed to states. The Christian world, however, rejoices to know that in the evolution of international morals we have reached a time when nations cannot dispense with a distinct ethical warrant for their treatment of each other.

History until recently has been largely the story of fighting. War at the beginning of the historical period was the normal, if not necessary, condition of nations. Leaping the ages, we behold an era in which it is not the trade of nations, and, indeed, but infrequently employed even as the ultima ratio in their disputes, which are mostly composed by peaceful arbitrament. For every war, every act of aggression, a civilized country feels it necessary to put forward justifying reasons based upon moral grounds.

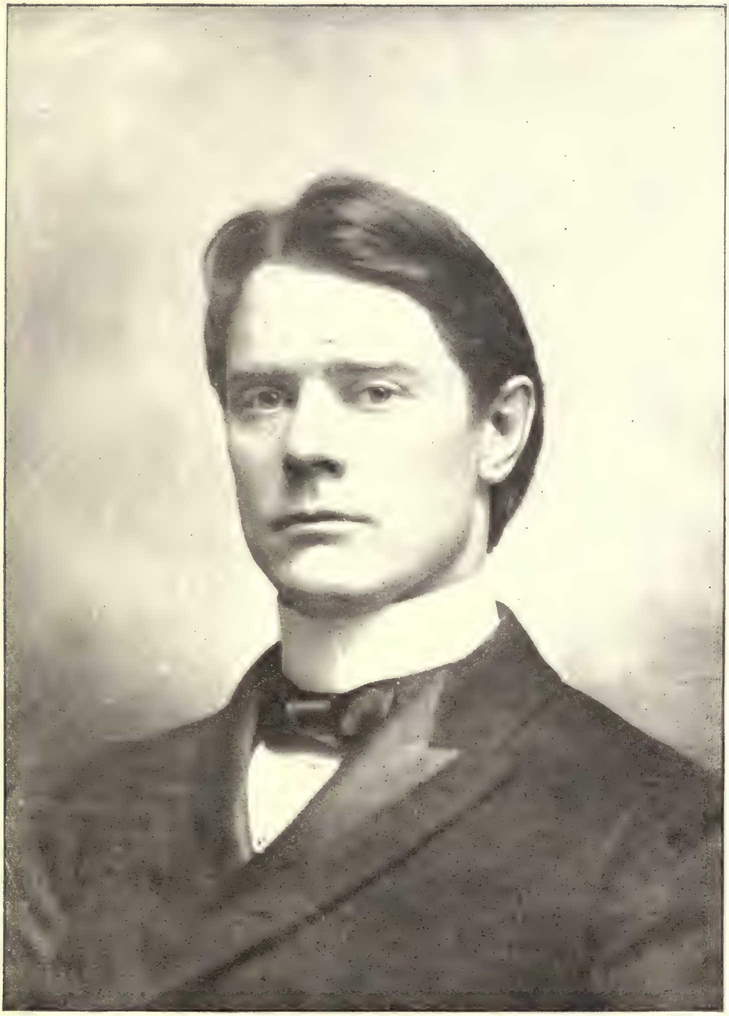
Our encounter with Spain was no rash and fruitless war, waged for wanton glory, territorial aggrandizement, commercial gain or other selfish or sordid purpose. We entered upon the undertaking for the grandest and noblest purpose that ever moved a nation to arms. We struck the blow in the name of liberty, justice, and humanity. We took the sword to redress the wrongs of others, not our own, and gave the world a sublime illustration of how nations as well as men in their ascent pass from the plane of the struggle for their own lives to that of the struggle for the lives of others, from self-

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE.

Albert Jeremiah Beveridge was born in Highland County, Ohio, October 6, 1862. His father and four brothers were soldiers in the Union army. His father moved to Illinois shortly after the war. Young Beveridge worked on a farm. From 12 to 16 years of age he worked in a logging camp, at 16 years of age being boss of the camp. Attended school irregularly during the winter months, working his own way. In 1881 he entered Depauw University on $50 loaned him by a friend, who had witnessed his struggles. He worked his way through a four years' course at college by laboring on a farm in summer and winning oratorical prizes at college. He represented his college in oratory, and won the inter-state oratorical contest at Columbus, Ohio, in 1885, being graduated in the class of 1885. After this he went to western Kansas, where he lived with the frontiersmen and cowboys for a year. Returning to Indiana he located in Indianapolis and entered the law office of McDonald and Butler.

He was soon advanced to the position of managing clerk of the firm. In 1887 he married Miss Katharine Maude Langsdale, of Greencastle, Indiana. He rapidly built up an extensive practice and became known as one of the leading constitutional lawyers of Indiana.

In 1880, as a youth, he made his first political speech for Garfield; and in 1884 he stumped the state of Indiana for Blaine. He opened the campaign for the Republicans of Indiana at Indianapolis in 1898, by a speech known as the "March of the Flag," which was widely used in other states as a campaign document. His ability as an orator first became generally known outside of the state of Indiana in 1894, when he delivered an address before the Marquette Club of Chicago, on the anniversary of Washington's birth. He has subsequently spoken in most of the important cities throughout the country. On January 17, 1899, he was elected senator of the United States from Indiana, to succeed David Turpie. Immediately afterward he made a trip to the Philippine Islands, China and Japan. He took his seat on December 4, 1899.



ALBERT JEREMIAH BEVERIDGE.

MARRIOTT BROSIUS.

MARRIOTT BROSIUS.

Marriott Brosius was born in Colerain Township, Lancaster County, Pa., March 7, 1843. This county was the home of Thaddeus Stevens, and has always been noted for its sterling patriotism. Mr. Brosius received a common school and academic education. He was in the flower of youth when the call to arms sounded in 1861. He enlisted as a private for three years in the Ninety-seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers. He was made sergeant in March, 1863, while engaged in the military operations on the Edisto river. He took part in the siege of Charleston and the assault on Fort Wagner. In February, 1864, he re-enlisted as a veteran, and on May 20, 1864, he participated in the brilliant charge at Green Plains in the Bermuda Hundred. In this encounter he sustained a severe wound, from the effects of which he has been a life-long sufferer; no bone now connects his right arm with his shoulder. He left the army in December, 1864, and on February 28, 1865, he was commissioned a second lieutenant for bravery on the field of battle.

After this four years' arduous service in the Union army, Mr. Brosius finished his education in the Millersville Normal School and took a course of law at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He was admitted to the bar in 1868 and has practiced his profession since that time.

Mr. Brosius was the Republican candidate for Congressman-at-large in 1882. He was defeated, although running over 7,600 votes ahead of his ticket. He was elected to the Fifty-first Congress and has been re-elected to each Congress since that one. He is now serving his sixth term, having been in Congress since 1889. His plurality in 1898 was 10,399. He was made chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the Fifty-sixth Congress. The national finances and the banking interests of the country will be safe in the hands of Mr. Brosius, who is a firm believer in the gold standard without any reservations.

regarding to other-regarding motives, a distinctly higher level. Service for others at the call of humanity is the noblest exercise of power and marks the highest outlook of national purpose and conscience.

From this point of view, the war with Spain appears to be unexampled in history, not alone in its origin, but in its results as well, and if our expectations are not disappointed, it can not fail to be regarded by the dispassionate judgment of mankind, as far as the United States are concerned, as one of the few totally disinterested, stainless, and wholly virtuous acts recorded in the history of the race. It may sound like rhapsody, but it is not when Edward Everett Hale declares "that in one hundred days God has set forward the civilization of the world one hundred years."

I need not dwell upon the facts which constitute the situation to which we are to apply the ethical principles which in this age of the world ought to regulate the conduct of nations. That the situation is one we did not see from the beginning does not lessen our responsibility. It is characteristic of important enterprises to lead to results not contemplated in the initial steps. It is a maxim of diplomacy that "no war ever left a nation where it found it." Our relations with Cuba and Porto Rico need not engage our attention at this time, for our duty in respect to them is so clear as to be free from difficulty. We must take care of them until they can take care of themselves. The policy of the Government for three-quarters of a century imposes this duty.

Under that policy no other European nation can succeed to the rights of Spain in any of her former dependencies in the Western Hemisphere. The Philippine Islands, however, present a different question in that it is free from some limitations which simplify the West Indian question and is complicated by some considerations from which the latter is entirely free. We can not be said ever to have had a policy with respect to possession in the Pacific Ocean or elsewhere outside this hemisphere. It has never been conceived that changes in possessions or modifications in government in the Eastern Hemisphere could be dangerous to our peace and safety or a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. The Philippine Islands, therefore, present a new question, unhampered by traditional policy or preconceived opinion, and it is to be treated on grounds of general reasoning in the light of its own circumstances and conditions with absolute fidelity to good morals and to our obligations to our own people and the inhabitants of the islands.

I do not think there is any ethical warrant for the vain jingo boast that the American flag should never be hauled down. That depends on whether it was properly put up. The form of statement which is agreeable to reason and compatible with morals is that where the flag of freedom is once rightfully planted it shall never be replaced by an emblem of despotism, and at all times and in every place it must stand for just, humane, and righteous government.

The maintenance of this just and conservative attitude involves not only a change in the direction we have been sailing, but the putting on of more sail as well. The ethical warrant, the humanitarian motive, and altruistic spirit of our undertaking set the compass that points the way we are to go. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the obligations of duty toward mankind as well as toward the people who have been brought within the sphere of our influence and our own future usefulness imperiously demand that we hold and defend our title to the possession and sovereignty of the Philippines until we have fully accomplished the moral purpose which inspired our undertaking in the beginning and rounded out the noble destiny upon which we are just entering.

I have said nothing of the commercial advantage which the policy of expansion wisely pursued will bring to us, because no thrifty policy of selfishness, no action with respect to the Philippines, whose motive is the pursuit of gain, without more, could justify the assumption of the stupendous responsibilities which the policy of expansion imposes. No results which are recorded in the merchant's ledger or on the balance sheets of commerce, without more, can give validity to the course we are pursuing.

But that course being justified by other and higher grounds, the fact that the situation carries on its wings a double blessing will not diminish the satisfaction with which we contemplate the new character we are taking on. That the gates of the East are open and all the possibilities of world commerce solicit us is a fact we can all look at with undisguised complacency. This, too, though incidental to our main purpose has its ethical side. Commerce is an apostle of peace, the forerunner of civilization. It is the true bond of charity and an influential teacher of moral lessons. Every new railroad laid down, every new steamship which plows the wave, is a guaranty of peace. England achieved the commercial primacy of the world because she was mistress of the sea. Columbus transferred the seat of trade and civilization from the center to the western coast of Europe by making the Atlantic instead of the Mediterranean the highway of commerce. When the early Greeks became endued with the commercial spirit their intellect awoke and expanded with their commerce.

The arts flourished, science had its birth, education was encouraged, and schools of philosophy established. Not only this, but the cause of the rapid propagation of Christianity in its first ages we are assured lay in the extraordinary facilities existing among the commercial communities scattered round the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Through the ages commercial activity has been in a marked degree conducive to the propagation of thought through the constant excitement to intellectual activity. So, too, the history of the reaction of the New World upon the Old illustrates how the sea became the theatre of some of the most stupendous results in the evolution of the world's commerce and civilization, and the star actors in that splendid drama were sea powers. Among all the powers of Europe which competed for the New World, success came to that one which most cultivated the sea and whose march, as the song declares, "was on the ocean wave."

Now what are the ethical requirements of the situation? There were four possible alternatives presented: Either to send the Philippines back under the yoke of Spain or dispose of them to other powers, or abandon them to anarchy and misgovernment to become at last the prey of any government that deemed them worth a struggle to possess, or lastly, take care of them ourselves until they are capable of taking care of themselves. From a necessity arising from natural conditions they are wards of the civilized and enlightened powers whose duty it is to give them good government and promote their advancement in civilization. The United States being in possession legitimately are in honor and good morals bound to hold control in trust for civilization, and discharge the duties which dominion and responsibility impose.

The ratification of the treaty of Paris will make us responsible for law and order in the Philippines before all the world. This obligation we solemnly assumed when we destroyed

Spanish authority and accepted a cession of Spain's title and sovereignty. We are morally bound to provide them with the best government their condition will admit of. This duty cannot be performed by leaving the people to govern themselves in any way they can. We must teach them the ways of good government. We must make conditions favorable to the growth of intelligence, integrity, and honest living. We must teach them self-control, obedience to law, and make them capable of self-government before we abandon them to the tender mercies of mercenary adventurers, unscrupulous military leaders, or to become a casus belli to involve the world in war. The national honor is involved in the manner in which we fulfill these responsible obligations. The eyes of the world are upon us, and for the character of our conduct and the elevation of our principles we must answer to the deliberate judgment of enlightened Christendom.

The government we set up must be for the benefit of the people governed, not the government that will conduce most to the benefit of the United States, nor to some fraction of the people of the islands, or to the revolutionary, adventurous, and ambitious leaders, but to the body of people who inhabit the islands. Their peace, happiness, growth, education, and civilization are the first objects of our solicitude, and all the agencies employed should bend to these beneficent ends.

The government of an inferior race is a trust, and the ruling and protecting people must never forget that they are in a position of trustees and bound like them to serve the objects of the trust. I agree with Dr. Lyman Abbott that to attempt to govern these islands for our own benefit exclusively, to utilize them for our trade, and exploit them for our commercial advantage merely, would be to re-enact the folly, if not to repeat the crime, of Spain. Any such attempt, however disguised, the patriotism and conscience of the American people should promptly repudiate and condemn.

These high considerations must be our guide in the Oceanic policy we are about entering upon. No maxims of prudence, no considerations of economy, no sordid purpose can stand in the way of those ethical principles which alone afford justification for our new departure. We enter upon no unholy rivalry for the possessions of others. We have no adversary in all the world to which the old threat can be applied, "Delenda est Carthago." We seek to destroy no country that we may rear an empire upon its ruins. We propose only to take care of our own possessions and protect and safeguard the weak and defenseless until they are capable of self-government. We will be a knight of chivalry among nations, bringing valor, heroism, and statesmanship to the rescue of the victims of oppression and wrong and teaching the world that liberty and law, right and justice shall be lords paramount within the sphere of American influence.

In carrying forward our new and enlarged policy, which is made necessary by the new relations in which we stand to the world, and the new obligations to humanity and civilization we have assumed, we propose cultivating peaceful relations with all the world, so that the increased commerce, for which we are an honorable candidiate, will not be a cause of disturbance or war, but will, as Adam Smith said it ought to be among nations, as individuals, a bond of union and friendship. We are advancing according to the higher altruistic law governing the development of States and nations and the growth of empire; we are moving in harmony with that providential order by which all races are to come under the reign of a higher social regime. Civilization cannot spare any portions of the earth to the waste of barbarism; savage tribes can not

WALTER PRESTON BROWNLOW.

Walter Preston Brownlow, Republican, of Jonesboro, Tenn., was born in Abingdon, Va.; he attended common school for three years; because of the death of his father he earned his support from the age of 10; he served an apprenticeship at the tinner's trade, and as a locomtive engineer, working at these trades for several years; he entered the newspaper business as a reporter for the Knoxville Whig and Chronicle (edited by his uncle, the late Hon. William G. Brownlow, United States Senator) in 1876; in the same year he purchased the Herald and Tribune, a Republican newspaper, published at Jonesboro, of which he has since been the editor and proprietor; was a delegate from his district to the Republican National Conventions of 1880 and 1896, and a delegate from the State at large to the national convention of 1884; in 1880 was chairman of the campaign committee of his district; in 1882 was elected a member of the Republican State Committee and served as such for eight years, two of which he was its chairman; was appointed postmaster at Jonesboro in March, 1881, and resigned in December to accept the doorkeepership of the House of Representatives of the Forty-seventh Congress; in 1884 and 1896 he was elected by the delegations from his State to the national conventions as Tennessee's member of the Republican National Committee, and was unanimously elected chairman of the Republican State Executive Committee by the members of that body for 1898-99; in 1898 was chosen at a primary election as the nominee for Congress, receiving 13,332 votes, to 4,010 for W. E. F. Milburn; was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and reelected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, as a Protectionist Republican, in a district which was represented from 1843 to 1853 by the late President Andrew Johnson as a Free-Trade Democrat, receieving 14,616 votes, to 11,732 for Hugh H. Guchenour, Democrat, and 245 for J. W. Crumley, Prohibitionist.

WALTER PRESTON BROWNLOW.

JULIUS C. BURROWS.

JULIUS C. BURROWS.

Julius C. Burrows, Republican, of Kalamazoo, Mich., was born at Northeast, Erie County, Pa., January 9, 1837; received a common school and academic education; by profession a lawyer; was an officer in the Union Army, 1862-1864; prosecuting attorney of Kalamazoo County, 1865-1867; appointed supervisor of internal revenue for the States of Michigan and Wisconsin in 1867, but declined the office; elected a Representative to the Forty-third, Forty-Sixth and Forty-seventh Congresses; appointed Solicitor of the United States Treasury Department by President Arthur in 1884, but declined the office; elected a delegate at large from Michigan to the National Republican Convention at Chicago in 1884; elected to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth and Fifty-first Congresses; twice elected Speaker pro tempore of the House of Representatives during the Fifty-first Congress, and was elected to the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses, and was re-elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress by over 13,000 plurality; resigned his seat in the House January 23, 1895, to assume the office of United States Senator from Michigan, to which he had been elected by the legislature to fill out the unexpired term of Francis B. Stockbridge, deceased, and took his seat in the Senate the same day; was re-elected in 1899. His term of service will expire March 3, 1905. Mr. Burrows has found a fine field for the application of his judicial turn and legal attainments as chairman of the Senate Committee on Revision of the Laws of the United States; and so, for those other qualities that give high rank as a statesman, in his membership of the important committees on Coast Defences, Finance, Privileges and Elections, National Banks, and Military Affairs.

forever cumber the richest parts of our heritage. They must become civilized or become extinct.

If we adhere to these principles and aspire after these high ideals, the outcry to the alarmist, the shibboleth "imperialism" used by those who think it safe to sail by the light on the stern of the ship, can produce no terror in those who are not affrighted by the inviting prospect of our country's greatness. Imperialism is not incompatible with federalism. Germany is a federal, yet an imperial monarch. We are a federal, but we may still be an imperial republic, deserving and holding the noblest primacy that can ever crown a nation, the primacy of humanity, justice and liberty, going boldly forward to the completion of our destiny, carrying free thought, free speech, free press, free religion, and free government to every people under our flag who are capable of such blessings, and when they are not, making them so as speedily as possible by such civilizing agencies as have for their object the care, comfort, and culture of the human race, and then show the world an example of the only imperialism suitable to this Republic, the imperialism of man.

This is the imperial spirit James Bryce advises us to cultivate, not a spirit of vain glory or aggression or defiance, but a spirit of pride and joy in the extension of our language, our literature, our laws, our institutions, our commerce over the vast spaces of the earth and the farthest islands of the sea, with a sense of the splendid opportunities and solemn responsibilities that extension carries with it.

I have faith to believe that we will be equal to our opportunities and worthy the grand and noble destiny that awaits us. We have but to remember what it is the primal duty of Americans never to forget, "That man is more than nations, that wisdom is more than glory, that virtue is more than dominion of the sea, and that justice is the supreme good.

"Lord, God of hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget."

M. Brosius

THE RACE QUESTION AND ANNEXATION.

By HON. BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN,
U. S. Senator, South Carolina.

TO come down to the milk in the cocoanut, have we got a legal title to the Philippines? Upon the decision of that question in the minds of the American people and of Congress will turn the question as to what we shall take.

Now, what are the facts? First, the Filipinos had revolted and were fighting for their liberty before we declared war with Spain. Second, they had conquered the archipelago and had possession of it, and Aguinaldo's authority was recognized throughout it, except in the Mohammedan Islands in the south.

If, as some people proclaim, we have gone into a partnership with God in this business, why did we not recognize those who acknowledged His Son and treat with them as one Christian people should treat with another rather than present to their bosoms our bayonets and say, "Get on your knees; surrender your liberties, your lives, your property, and all you hold dear to the dictation of our people without any guaranties, or we will shoot you to death?"

But to get back to the proposition; these people had conquered their liberties from Spain before we conquered Manila. We helped them. Well and good. That did not give us any more title to their property or to their land than it did the French when they helped us in the Revolutionary war. The legal status was that the Filipinos had a government of their own, and we had only Manila. The treaty of peace came! we made a demand.

Now, what is the legal result? Did we get the title? I say no. I could not get any property in this city or in any other place on such conditions. I have got to go into court; I have got to have delivery follow the deed; I have got to prove that the property belonged to the man who sold it. We can not prove Spain's title. We therefore simply bought, for $20,000,000, what Spain did not have—the legal title to the Philippine Islands—and we have conquered those islands at the point of the bayonet. So whatever title we now possess rests upon conquest and conquest only.

We have only got the color of a claim, but no title. Are those people, then, rebels? I have not noticed that word being so much in the dispatches recently. They are now called insurgents. But if they were insurgents, against whom did they rise? Spain. They never rose against us. We began war on them by shooting down one of their men. The president issued his proclamation in December, six weeks before the ratification of the treaty of peace, proclaiming his purpose to annex and control those islands absolutely. He had no law for it; he had no authority for it, for the treaty had not been ratified.

With the ratification of the treaty Spain's rights, whatever they were, passed to us, and as the President had determined six weeks before that the islands should be brought under the rule of our Government and issued his proclamation to that effect without any authority of law, the impartial historian will declare that he is primarily responsible for the war, responsible for the loss of the lives of our soldiers, responsible for the inhuman and devastating conflict that has followed, and that he obtained the permission which was necessary through the cowardice, venality, or weakness of Senators.

I have left to the last discussion of that phase of this subject which is most important and vital—the race question. It is well understood that the people who inhabit the Philippines belong to what we call the colored races, and the most perplexing and disturbing factor in the question arises from this fact. The number of these people is variously estimated at from six to ten millions, and the Senator from Indiana, who has spent some time in personal investigation, asserts in the most positive manner that they are unfit for self government, and he gives us some very strange and unaccountable reasons as to why this is so. I say unaccountable because the Senator comes from a State and belongs to a party that in the very recent past held very different views in regard to the capabilities of the blackest and lowest type of the colored peoples.

Ah, has it come to this? If we attacked the Filipino leaders and their followers, those men of affairs, men so strong in the faith of the right of men to govern themselves after our great example that, although illy armed and without artillery, it has required 60,000 American troops over a year to drive them from the field, and even yet they have not surrendered, but have adopted a guerrilla warfare—if these are not fit for self government under our kindly tutelage, let me ask of those Republicans here who in part are responsible for it, and who were and are now in absolute sympathy with it, how dared they give the control of the Southern States into the hands of negroes as being fit not only to govern themselves but also to govern white men? How dared you do it? If the Filipinos are children, what were and are the ex-slaves of the South? How dared Republicans appeal to the Northern masses to compel the South to grant the negroes a free vote and a fair count when it involved negro rule pure and simple?

That issue, as I have stated, was whether all men are created free and equal, including the negro. But for that there would have been no secession; but for that there would have been no war. Therefore, while I have acknowledged in the fullest sense that the Union sentiment caused the Northern people to pour out their blood like water to maintain it, do not forget that the issue was the equality of man and liberty in the Union. Is the question settled? Did the 24,000 men from Indiana who offered up their lives for the Union and liberty believe that in thirty-five years the party and the men of the party whose principles they died for would come back to believe with Stephen A. Douglas that the "Declaration of Independence was intended only for white men?"

Did they believe that Lincoln's famous utterance, "The Union can not exist half slave and half free," would be forgotten, and that we would have Senators here contending for the right of Congress to govern indefinitely in absolutism 10,000,000 people under a form of government that is to be "simple and strong," a government of force resting on principles and ideas entirely foreign to those for which Lincoln died?

Are the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to be nullified in their essence because they have failed of their purposes in the South? Are they for home use only? Is the flag to become again a "flaunting lie" and float over a military despotism first in the Philippines and later at home? Was the memorable conflict between slavery and freedom useless? Have we gained nothing?

Hitherto the South has enjoyed a monopoly in and the odium of shooting and hanging men of the colored race. Have the Northern people grown envious and do they seek to emulate our example? The South has had no choice, and

MARION BUTLER.

Marion Butler, Populist, of Elliot, Sampson County, was born on a farm in Honeycutts Township, Sampson County, N. C., May 20, 1863; was prepared for college by his mother and at a neighboring academy, but chiefly by his mother; graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1885; began the study of law, but was called home, being the eldest boy, by the sudden death of his father, to run the farm and to look after the education of his younger brothers and sisters, and taught at a neighboring academy for three years; in 1888 he joined the Farmers' Alliance and bought the Clinton Caucasian; was elected to the State Senate in 1890; was the leader of the Alliance forces in that body; was chairman of the joint committee on railroad commission, and succeeded in passing the present railroad commission law of North Carolina and in securing a number of other needed reforms; was elected president of the State Farmers' Alliance in 1891 and re-elected in 1892; was elected vice president of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union in 1893 and elected president of that organization in 1894; immediately after adjournment of the Chicago Convention in 1892 he publicly declared that he would not support Grover Cleveland, and at once severed his connection with the Democratic party and went to work to organize and build up the People's party; in the winter of 1893-94 he conceived the plan of campaign which resulted in such a triumphant success at the fall election of 1894; was chairman of the Populist State Committee during that campaign; is a trustee and a member of the executive board of the State University, his alma mater; his paper, the Caucasian, has been removed to Raleigh, N. C., and has probably the largest circulation and is one of the most influential papers in the State; was elected chairman of the national executive committee of the Populist party in 1896, and was an earnest and ardent supporter of William J. Bryan for President; was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Matt W. Ransom, Democrat, in 1895. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901.

MARION BUTLER.

THOMAS HENRY CARTER.

THOMAS HENRY CARTER.

Thomas Henry Carter, of Helena, Montana, was born in Scioto County, Ohio, on October 30, 1854. While young, his parents removed with him to Illinois, where he received a common school education. On reaching maturity he engaged in farming and afterward in railroading, interspersing both for some years with school teaching. He then studied law and was admitted to the bar, practicing for some time in Burlington, Iowa. In 1882, he removed thence to Helena, Montana, where he entered upon his political career, being elected a delegate from the then Territory to the Fifty-first Congress. He was largely instrumental in procuring the passage of the enabling act which led to the admission of the Territory as a State into the Union. Upon the admission of the State, in 1889, he was elected its first representative to Congress. From March, 1891, to July, 1892, he served as Commissioner of the General Land Office. By this time his voice in party councils had become so potential and his organizing ability so well recognized that he was elected chairman of the Republican National Committee, in which capacity he served a term with great satisfaction. In 1895 he was elected by the legislature of his State to the United States Senate, and took his seat March 4, 1895. His term will expire March 3, 1901. In the responsible position of chairman of the Senate Committee on Census, Mr. Carter has ably shouldered the duties incident to the preparatory work of the census of 1900, the plan and scope of which are on a scale believed to be superior to that of any prior census. In addition to his work as chairman of this important committee, he has rendered valuable service as a member of the committees on Military Affairs, Post Offices and Post-roads, Public Lands, Territories, Forest Reservation and the Protection of Game, and Appropriations.

much of the blood of negroes shed by white men is the direct result of the attempt to place that race in control of our Southern States. The irrepressible conflict between liberty and slavery destroyed slavery, but it has left to the South an irrepressible conflict between intelligenece and ignorance, between vice and virtue, between barbarism and civilization. We inherited our race problem. You are going out wantonly in search of yours and of the nation's.

If the North is jealous of the South's "bad eminence" in the murder of colored people, is it not strange, is it not passing strange that almost the only protest against this infamous policy of the President comes from men from the South who are representatives of their States in this Chamber? We know whereof we speak. We are in contact with the race question at close quarters and have been and will have to continue to be. You know not what you do.

We are tied to the "body of death," represented by the presence in our midst of a debased and ignorant race. We are doing the best we can. Can we incorporate a larger number without increasing the danger to our institutions, especially when it is boldly asserted they are not fit for self-government? Is there any reason either in policy or in morals why the already hard task and hopeless future of the blacks of the South, the burdens under which they bend, should be increased by having the "sullen, silent people" of the East brought into direct competition with them in the cultivation of cotton, rice and other sub-tropical products? Do the imperialists worship at no shrine except that of Mammon?

In the rice and sugar industries in Louisiana and South Carolina the labor, which represents three-fourths of the cost, is black, and it is these men who will suffer most.

Men of the North, you have never lived under a carpetbag government, propped by bayonets, as I have, and seen negro militia march by your door threatening the lives of your wives and children. You do not know what it is to have bayonet rule. God forbid you ever should. But are we going to have any peace in the Philippines? Is the conquest of those islands going to be perfect? There is some talk that now they will hang these scattered bands if they catch any of them, those guerrillas, and it is said that they are mere robbers.

Is it proposed that we shall forget everything of our own history that is noble and ennobling in order to carry out this damnable program? The Tagals having once tasted of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, having had a taste of liberty—and freedom from Spanish rule is my definition of Tagal liberty—having, as I say, had that taste, are they going to quietly subside and become the simple, cowardly, peaceful, submissive creatures they were before? They do not want our liberty. They want their own liberty, worse than ours though it may be. Nobody expects the Tagals to drive us out. They do not know the hopelessness of attempting to get their freedom. No brave people ever did calculate as to whether they would win or not, and no brave people ever will.

As one who loves liberty and loves his country, and believes that its true greatness lies in clinging to the ideals of our fathers, I protest against the continuance of this unholy war. Let us be rid of the dangers and pitfalls that lie in the course we are pursuing. Let us remain true to the precepts of the great founders of our government.

What is it our duty to do? First, stop this war. How? By telling those people that we do not want to have them governed after our methods. By saying to them, "Come together and piece up the government you had, or any you now want. We will warn Europe and all other depredators off your shores."

That will be some recompense. We can protect them against outside interference. We can retain whatever territory we may need for a naval station. We could make a compact with them which would give us any advantages we might desire or need in the way of commerce. If we do not, if we continue our bloody tyrannical course, if we say to them you must submit to the last man, and there must not be a man left in those islands who declares or claims that he is not a subject of the United States, we may establish peace. We can, I suppose, suppress and repress and continue to kill and murder, for it is murder. We had no right there at the beginning—I mean in the way we have undertaken. We captured Manila from Spain, and that we had title to. Spain ceded it to us. We can retain it if we want to in law and in morals. But the balance of the islands are not ours, and they never were ours in any legal aspect or sense. I repeat what I have already said, that if the civil war was not a mistake, if it was not a hideous blunder and crime, let us stop; because if that war was for freeing the slave and establishing in this government the principle that equality and liberty in the Union were its purposes, this Filipino war is a war of conquest and nothing else and is a crime in the sight of God and man.

B. R. Tillman

STORY OF THE PARIS TREATY.

By HON. WILLIAM PIERCE FRYE,
U. S. Senator, Maine.

HUMANITY and a decent self-respect compelled the Congress of the United States to declare war against Spain. The conflict was short, sharp and decisive. In a few months that proud empire was a suppliant for peace. We cheerfully yielded to the request for we hate war and love peace.

The president of the United States appointed five commissioners to meet at Paris, five commissioners to be appointed by the Queen Regent of Spain to agree upon the terms of peace. Our commissioners are well known to us for they were all men who had been for considerable length of time in the public service. They were none of them skilled in diplomacy. I, perhaps, was as much of a diplomat as any of them, and I simply knew what I wanted and was bound to get it if I could.

The Spanish commissioners were high bred gentlemen; three of them had been ambassadors to foreign ports, and the president of their commission, Signor Rios, was said to be the best ecclesiastical lawyer in Spain. He was the president of the Spanish Senate, and he was certainly as resourceful a man as I ever had the honor to meet. Our relations with these commissioners, were, as a matter of course, courteous and friendly all through our negotiations. We felt for them a profound sympathy, because we knew very well that whatever treaty they signed and we agreed to was simply the death-warrant for them politically in their own country.

The French government treated us with great courtesy and the French press with disgust. Our commission met every morning at ten o'clock; the joint commission met whenever necessary at two in the afternoon. The proceedings were conducted through an interpreter. The first demand which the Spanish commissioners made on us will possibly seem somewhat remarkable. It was that we should promptly restore the status quo in Manila; release all of the Spanish prisoners; restore their arms which we had taken from them and pay damages for all the property which we had destroyed, for all wounds we had inflicted and for all the deaths which we had caused. Now, there was in law a solid foundation for that demand. Ordinarily a protocol provides it shall take effect at some future day, in order that notice may be given to the belligerents, wherever they may be, that hostilities may cease. This protocol of ours took effect the moment it was signed. The battle of Manila was fought three days after. Now, under well-settled principles of international law, while the officers who conducted the battle would not be held responsible, for they had no notice, the country itself would be held responsible.

Our reply to this demand was in that protocol they had given us a temporary sovereignty in Manila and the bay. A temporary sovereignty carries with it all the responsibilities and obligations of a real sovereignty—the obligation to preserve peace and protect life and property, and, in our judgment, with 10,000 Spanish prisoners within these walls of Manila, to give them their freedom, and with 10,000 Tagals just outside the walls, would not be preserving peace or protecting life or property, especially when Aguinaldo and his tribe asked of United States that they be permitted to loot the city of Manila, and Merritt and Dewey refused to allow a single arm within the walls.

Our reply to the question of damages was that in the consideration of this treaty we would determine as to what should be done.

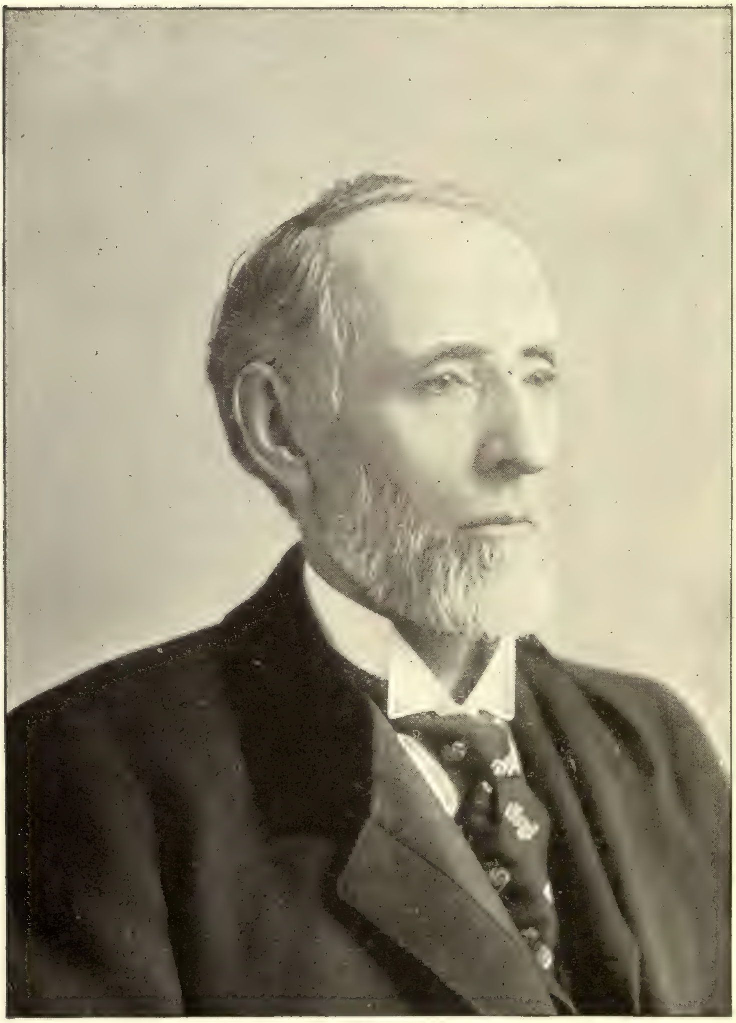
The next demand the Spanish commissioners made upon us was that we should accept the sovereignty of the island of Cuba, and in this demand they persisted without cessation for two solid months. Signor Rios held as a matter of law that the bonded debt of Cuba, amounting to $600,000,000 or $700,000,000, be secured by a mortgage of the revenues of the island, which would follow sovereignty. We refused to accept the sovereignty on the ground that Congress had instructed us not to accept it. They then demanded that we should guarantee it ourselves, and we refused the guarantee, saying to them that we entered upon this war for humanity's sake and for no other.

We had expended our money, we had wasted the lives of our noble soldiers in order to prevent the despotic power of Spain from ever exercising its cruelty in the island of Cuba, and we got no possible benefit from the result. There was no reason why we should guarantee the Cuban bonds. It became evident to us that something radical, emphatic, determined must be done. We concluded to lay down an ultimatum, give a certain number of days to accept or reject, and if rejection came, to end the negotiations. That was a difficult thing to do, for the five American commissioners were not a unit in sentiment, and must be brought to an agreement. There were four propositions before us. One was to take the island of Luzon alone. Another was to leave the archipelago. Another was to take a coaling and naval station. Another

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Grover Cleveland, Ex-President of the United States, was born in Caldwell, Essex County, N. J., March 18, 1837; removed with his parents when 4 years of age to Fayetteville, Onondaga County, N. Y.; received an academic schooling in Fayetteville and Clinton, to which latter place the family had removed; at 16 years of age he became a clerk and an assistant teacher in the New York Institution for the Blind in New York City; in 1855 went west in search of employment; engaged with his uncle at Buffalo, N. Y., to aid in the compilation of the American Herd Book; in August, 1855, accepted a place as copyist in the law office of Rogers, Bowen & Rogers, Buffalo, in which office he began the study of the law; was admitted to the bar in 1859; was appointed assistant district attorney of Erie County, January 1, 1863, and held the office three years; was a candidate on the Democratic ticket for district attorney, but was defeated; formed a law partnership with Isaac V. Vanderpool, and in 1869 became a partner in the law firm of Lanning, Cleveland & Folsom; was elected sheriff of Erie County in 1870 and held the office three years; resumed the practice of law at the close of his term of office; in November, 1881, was elected mayor of the city of Buffalo; September 22, 1882, was nominated by the Democrats for Governor and was elected, receiving a majority of 151,742 votes over all candidates; July 8, 1884, was nominated for President and was elected, receiving 219 electoral votes, against 182 votes for James G. Blaine; was re-nominated for the Presidency in 1888, and was defeated by Benjamin Harrison by an electoral vote of 233 against 168; upon retiring from the Presidency located in New York City and resumed the practice of law; was again nominated for the Presidency in 1892 and was elected, receiving 276 electoral votes, against 145 votes for Benjamin Harrison, and was inaugurated March 4, 1893. His term of office expired March 4, 1897, when he retired to private life as a citizen of Princeton, N. J.

GROVER CLEVELAND.



SHELBY M. CULLOM

SHELBY M. CULLOM.

Shelby M. Cullom, Republican, of Springfield, Ill., was born in Wayne County, Ky., November 22, 1829; his father removed to Tazewell County, Ill., the following year. He received an academic and university education; went to Springfield in the fall of 1853 to study law and has since resided there; immediately upon receiving license to practice was elected city attorney; continued to practice law until he took his seat in the House of Representatives in 1865; was a Presidential elector in 1856 on the Fillmore ticket; was elected a member of the House of Representatives of the Illinois Legislature in 1856, 1860, 1872, and 1874, and was elected speaker in 1861 and in 1873; was elected a Representative from Illinois in the Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-first Congresses, serving from December 4, 1865, to March 3, 1871; was a delegate to the National Republican Convention at Philadelphia in 1872, being chairman of the Illinois delegation, and placed General Grant in nomination; was a delegate to the National Republican Convention in 1884 and chairman of the Illinois delegation; was elected Governor of Illinois in 1876 and succeeded himself in 1880, serving from January 8, 1877, until February 5, 1883, when he resigned, having been elected to the United States Senate to succeed David Davis, Independent Democrat; took his seat December 4, 1883, and was reelected in 1888 and again in 1894; was a member of the commission appointed to prepare a system of laws for the Hawaiian Islands. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901. Mr. Cullom's services as chairman of the Senate Committee on Inter-state Commerce have given great satisfaction, and equally so of those rendered as a member of the committees on Appropriations, Foreign Relations, Additional Accommodations for the Library of Congress (Select), Relations with Cuba, and Relations with Canada.

was to take all we could get. I was in favor of taking all we could get. It took several days to bring about an agreement among ourselves. How was it brought about? I can only give a feeble illustration of some of the arguments.

Take the proposition to leave the island. Could that be entertained? There was a rebellion in that archipelago. Negotiations were had by Aguinaldo, and as a result he and seventeen chieftains were carried from Hong Kong to Manila in a U. S. revenue cutter. Dewey gave them all the guns that were captured from the Spaniards. They immediately formed an army. There was no alliance between them and the United States, no promise in writing, nor even orally, but at the same time these men were in a measure helping to fight our battle. We could have conquered Manila without them, but they aided us and very likely helped to save many lives. They whipped the Spaniards every time they met them, conquering province after province, took many Spanish prisoners, and were practically our allies. Could this great Republic, under these circumstances, leave these men to the tender mercies of Spain? Is there a man here who would not have blushed with shame for his Republic if it had been thus guilty?

Take the coaling and naval station; where would you locate it? At Manila, within gunshot of the Germans or Russians? Why we would be compelled to make of our coaling and naval station, in order to have it of the slightest earthly use, a Gibraltar, protected by a tremendous armed force. Again, if you only took the naval and coaling station, and left the rest of the archipelago in the hands of Spain, you are still practically at the tender mercies of Spain. It is not necessary for me to say to this intelligent audience what the 'tender mercies of Spain' are.

Again, should we take Luzon alone, we argued. If we do we will give it just as good a government as we have in any State. We will remove all slavery, all unjust and wicked taxation. We will respect the rights and freedom of the inhabitants. We will regard their religion. We will give them a contented, happy, comfortable, republican government. How long will it be before the rest of the islands will find out what the Tagalos have received from the United States of America, and when they find out, how long will it be before they will rebel, how long will it be before our Tagolos sympathizing with them will fit out filibustering expeditions to help them, send them arms, send them money? Why, you will have one perpetual war with Spain. Your peace will be a farce. That was surrendered.

We finally agreed unanimously upon what? That Spain must release herself from the sovereignty of Cuba; that we would not take it; that we would have nothing whatever to do with the Cuban bond; that whenever Cuba was allowed to form a stable government, we would give her the right to do so, and the sovereignty would be hers. Next, that Spain must leave Porto Rico an island sovereignty to us. That country had been a menace to the United States long enough and that Spain must leave forever and ever this hemisphere.

Again, we must have Guam, a landing place for our cable. Again, Spain must yield the sovereignty of the entire Filipino archipelago to us; that we would pay Spain $20,000,000; that we would pay our citizens for damages which they had suffered from the Spanish army in Cuba, and that Spain should relieve the United States from all claim, national or individual, thus taking care of that claim that I mentioned as their first demand; that we would return to their homes the Spanish prisoners; that Spain should return to Cuba and Puerto Rico and the Filipino archipelago all of the men she had sent into exile from these countries.

We cabled that ultimatum to the President of the United States, and he cabled back a reply that it was eminently satisfactory to him. Then we had it carefully translated into Spanish and delivered it to Signor Rios and gave him three days in which to accept or reject it, informing him that if he rejected it, negotiation would promptly stop. The next day he wrote a letter to the chairman of our commission, asking if we really meant it. He received a reply which seemed to satisfy him that we did. That was the difference between non-diplomacy and diplomacy.

Now, why did we agree to pay $20,000,000? We were not obliged to. They were compelled to accept whatever we demanded, or war; one of the two; there was no escape. Different motives controlled our action in that regard. So far as I was concerned, from an examination which I made, I became satisfied that the precedents were all in favor of a payment for improvements. Where one nation at war succeeded in acquiring provinces from another nation that had been improved, without exception the rule was for the conquering nation to pay for any improvements which had been made in the territory so acquired. It didn't seem to me that this great, rich and powerful Republic of ours could afford to be less magnanimous to a bankrupt and defeated foe than Mexico could toward Spain, from whom she had won her independence by war.

Again, it was exceedingly doubtful whether any treaty could be made. Some thought that if a certain amount of money could be put into our ultimatum it might influence the Spanish Commissioners, possibly, as it would afford them to that extent an excuse at home and induce them to sign the treaty; and if it did, that it was better for us to pay it because if we failed in our negotiations, and war broke out afresh it would not take us many days to spend a great deal more than $20,000,000, and with it, perhaps, precious lives. Now, largely they were our reasons for paying the $20,000,000.

Had they made any improvements in the archipelago? Yes. They had spent a great deal of money in Manila and had built new barracks for 5000 soldiers, which we have been occupying ever since. They had started a dry-dock at Subig and had all the materials for a dry-dock there. We did not make an inventory of these things, but put them in a lump sum and I do not believe any American citizen understanding it feels to-day that we did wrong in paying the $20,000,000.

Why did we agree to pay the losses which our American citizens had suffered in Cuba? Could we turn from our American citizens who were entitled to our protection in Cuba, and whose property had been destroyed there while we were fitting out ships of war at an expense of $3,000,000 or $4,000,000 to watch filibustering, or supposed filibustering, and could we afford to let their losses be remunerated by Spain? When would she do it? Some time in the twenty-first century. Not before.

There was not the least likelihood of trouble in the archipelago, when we were in Paris. Nobody dreamed of any trouble when we were in Paris. General Whittier and General Merritt were before our committee and testified that the most cordial feeling existed between the Tagalos and the United States troops; that while there was a little friction when he refused to allow the Tagalos to loot the city of Manila, they had gotten over it. They said it would not take more than three or four regiments of white men, and as many regiments of natives, with white officers, to take care of all the interests, and that the revenues of the island would a great deal more than support the entire administration of affairs, military and civil.

Aguinaldo had his spies in Paris every day we were there and reported to him just exactly what we believed, that there would not be any treaty. Then Aguinaldo said to the Tagalos, "Here, there is going to be no treaty, and I must have money, more men and I must have equipment for men. You must furnish me with money." They furnished him with money and he bought arms and provisions for the army, which increased his force very largely. The treaty was signed. Then it was sent to Washington, and it came before our Committee on Foreign Relations. We reported it immediately to the Senate. If it had been ratified in ten days, there would not have been any trouble in the archipelago. It was not. It was in the United States Senate for nearly three months, if not quite, and most unfortunate speeches were made in open session of the Senate, not intentionally, but really giving encouragement to Aguinaldo.

Aguinaldo's spies were in Washington for two months; they cabled Aguinaldo again and again and he applied to the rich Talagos and said that the treaty was not to be ratified; and he got more money and more arms. And then the little fellow lost his head. Every time that he had met white men he had conquered white men, but he had never met United States troops at that time in battle. He came to the conclusion that he could drive the American forces out of the archipelago, make himself dictator, a despot in the archipelago, and then deliberately he made war upon our troops. I say, if that treaty had been ratified in ten days in the United States Senate, there would not have been any war in the Filipino Archipelago.

Wm P Frye

PLACE OF AMERICA IN WORLD POLITICS.

By HON. DAVID J. HILL,
Assistant Secretary of State.

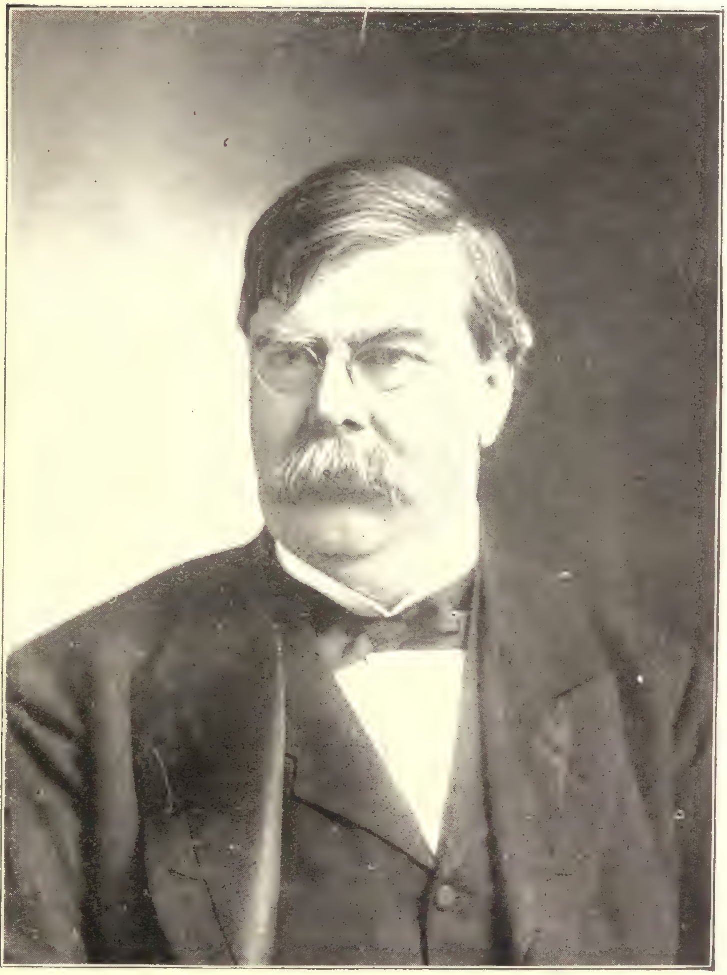
AS if awakened from a marvelous dream to find itself in the presence of a more wonderful reality, the United States emerges from its war with Spain to discover that it has suddenly become one of the greatest oceanic powers of the world, holding on the west Tutuila, the finest port in the Southern Pacific; the Hawaiin Islands, Guam and the Philippine archipelago, while its continental coast line of more than 5000 miles occupies nearly one-fourth of the entire Pacific water front.

No longer a struggling federation of small commonwealths, scattered along the Atlantic seaboard, but a great and powerful nation, commanding the breadth of the continent and ruling distant islands, what is to be the part of the United States in these great movements which are changing the political and moral geography of the world? Will it follow the counsel of those who oppose the extension of American sovereignty beyond the confines of the continent and who demand that our flag be lowered before the standard of self-constituted chieftains, imagined to embody the sovereignty of a people because they have inflamed with insurrection a single one of eighty-four native tribes, never recognized as a state, not even constituting a nation, and wholly devoid of public responsibility?

When the public archives have told their whole story it will appear that the treaty of Paris was not a bargain in the

WILLIAM D. DALY.

William D. Daly, Democrat, of Hoboken, N. J., was born at Jersey City, N. J., June 4, 1851; is a lawyer by profession, being admitted as an attorney in 1874; was formerly a moulder by trade; as a criminal lawyer stands at the head of the New Jersey bar, and has, through his professional and legislative career, become familiar with every detail of constitutional and municipal law affecting New Jersey; was assistant U. S. District Attorney for New Jersey for 3 years, 1885-88, during the first Cleveland administration; was an alternate delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1888, and in 1889 was elected to the House of Assembly from the Eighth District of Hudson County; although a new member, was made leader of his party on the floor of the House, and upon the close of his term as Assemblyman was nominated by Governor Abbett Judge of the District Court of Hoboken, and was unanimously confirmed; resigned as Judge in 1892 to accept the nomination of his party for State Senator to represent Hudson County, and after an exciting canvass was elected by a majority of 5,645; in 1892 was again a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago; in 1895 was renominated for the office of State Senator and elected, contrary to all precedent in that district; during five years of his senatorial career was the leader of his party on the floor, and during the same time was a delegate to, and invariably an officer of, the county and State conventions of the Democratic party; was a delegate to the Democratic national convention in 1896, and was the New Jersey member of the committee on notification of candidates; was chairman of the State Democratic Convention in 1896 and member at large of the State Committee, 1896-1898; in 1898 was prominently mentioned as the Democratic candidate for Governor, and at the State Convention received on the first ballot 364 votes, to 441 for Crane, who received the nomination; was nominated without opposition and elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, receiving 30,270 votes, to 20,230 for Z. K. Pangborn, Republican, 258 for J. W. Brown, Prohibitionist, and 1,723 for G. P. Herrasaft, Socialist Labor. This was the largest majority ever given a Congressional candidate in this district.



WILLIAM D. DALY.

JOHN DALZELL.

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John Dalzell, Republican member of Congress from the Twenty-second District of Pensylvania, was born in New York City on April 19, 1845. He moved to Pittsburg, Pa., in 1847, where his early education was acquired in the common schools. His higher education was acquired at Yale College, from which he graduated in the class of 1865. He then took up the study of law and was admitted to the bar in 1867. He soon reached a prominent position in his profession and came into the enjoyment of a lucrative practice. His first entry into active politics was in 1886, when he was elected a member of the Fiftieth Congress from his district. He was re-elected to the Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth, Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses, receiving at his last election 25,693 votes, to 11,049 for George W. Acklin, Democrat, 1,219 for H. L. Castle, Prohibitionist, 527 for V. Remmel, Socialist Labor, and 121 for Thomas H. Grundy, Union.

During his long consecutive career in the House, Mr. Dalzell has ranked as one of its ablest and most conspicuous members, whether in committee work or upon the floor. In the former, his industry, learning and research gave to his reports a lucidity, fullness and solidity that carried great weight. On the floor he was readily recognized as one of the masters in debate, being brilliantly apt in argument, precise in logic, and in control of a fluent, fascinating rhetoric.

Standing second on the committee on Rules of the House, the Speaker being ex-officio chairman, Mr. Dalzell has been one of the most important factors in shaping the formulary for the order and dispatch of legislation. Occupying the same relation to the chairman of the committee of Ways and Means of the Fifty-sixth Congress, his broad knowledge of affairs and his special qualifications for handling financial and economic subjects, have very largely contributed to the exhaustive and convincing character of the committee's reports, and to their after-support on the floor. Readily the leader of his State delegation in Congress, Mr. Dalzell's name has frequently been mentioned as one pre-eminently fitted to be found on the roll of the United States Senate.

interest of trade, but the charter of liberty for twelve millions of human beings gathered under the protecting folds of a flag able to defend them from foreign aggression and domestic anarchy. The one conceivable opportunity for the free development of self government in the Philippine archipelago, so far as that may be possible was secured when the sovereignty over those islands passed from Spain to the United States.

In the name of just administration, in the name of international tranquility, and in the name of self government itself, the United States cannot lower its flag wherever it has been raised, until anarchy has been suppressed, public order established, and the world convinced that our President expressed the real purpose of the American people when he sent forth his Philippine commissioners as bearers of the good will, the protection and the richest blessings of a liberating rather than a conquering nation.

The advocates of Little America as opposed to Greater America have sought to inspire the conviction that our recent development is the fruit of political materialism—a repudiation of those great ideas which animated the founders of this nation. Deriving their standard of national morality from the cloister, they find the path of duty in perpetual isolation and proclaim the doctrine that the material and moral expansion of the country are contradictory and incompatible. But all experience teaches that the improvement of national character is not to be sought by pious contemplation of one's virtues in a monastic cell, but wrung from the stern issues of life by conscientious effort in the great field of activity; for nations like men, become strong and great only by mastering manfully their divinely appointed tasks.

Any form of expansion which does not include the extension and diffusion of that which we are proud to call our

"Americanism" is not worthy of the energies and the ambition of the American people. What, then, is that Americanism which we cannot abandon or disregard without casting into the sea the precious pearl of our national inheritance?

Liberty is sweet, but it is not the whole secret of our national development. Fraternity is noble, but it is not the only bond of our civic coherence. Deeper than both liberty and fraternity lies the sublime conception of an imperative moral order, which is not merely the fertile source of personal rights, but the compelling force of individual and national duties.

We sometimes speak of commerce as if it were essentially sordid and selfish, but we must not overlook its beneficent influence. Appealing to solemn treaties which have opened to the American people the trade of the vast empire of China—apparently on the point of being imperiled by exclusive policies—in order to maintain equal rights for the traders and manufacturers of the United States, the President has invited the nations, through his distinguished Secretary of State, to give assurance that the "open door" shall not be closed. Recognizing the rights of the American people as a great Pacific power, England, Russia, Germany, France, Italy and Japan have responded in that just and friendly spirit, and in a body of diplomatic correspondence recently offered to the public these powers have collectively guaranteed to the United States that fair and equal treatment which equity demands.

And this new era of this world-wide commerce which is now about to dawn is only the natural sequence of our continental development, the fulfilment of early tendencies and prophecies, with ample territory and coveting the land of no other nations, with inexhaustible treasures, coal, iron and timber, with industries capable of supplying the markets of the world, midway between the Atlantic and the Pacific, in the zone of maximum efficiency, the American people, cosmopolitan in origin and sympathies, are without question destined to become a great power on the sea.

If any form of government can rise to the level of great human interests and secure the rights of humanity, it is that of a sovereign people, able to sit in judgment upon its public servants and hold them responsible for their official acts. Wherever the flag of our country flies, on land or on sea, there the American conscience is present to uphold it, as the symbol and pledge of liberty and law.

David J. Hill

THE PORTO RICAN PROBLEM.

THE problems relating to insular acquisitions are identical up to a certain point. They begin to differ with the character of the resident people and with certain geographic and commercial consideration. The Porto Rican question became momentous at an early date, perhaps naturally, because the island was nearest and the people more homogeneous and peaceful than those of the Philippines. If not for these reasons, then because of the direct mention of a policy respecting Porto Rico in the president's message of December, 1899, and the necessity for immediate action on the part of our government which arose on account of the devastation of a dread hurricane in the island.

The President in his message advised that duties be removed from goods imported from Porto Rico. When Congress took up the question, it was seen by his friends that to admit Porto Rico goods duty free would jeopardize the Republican position as to insular relations and government. It would establish an embarrassing and dangerous precedent as to the Philippine problem when the Filipino insurrection was suppressed and the time came for establishing government there. It would compromise the broad Republican doctrine that the Constitution does not operate automatically and at once spread its panoply over newly acquired possessions. Moreover, it would play directly into the hands of sugar and tobacco trusts, which would thus escape the payment of a million or two of duties on goods warehoused in the islands. The Democrats made the most of the situation. It gave them grand opportunity for their arguments that the "Constitution followed the flag," and that free-trade was the inevitable outcome of territorial annexation. They turned the halt, and the apparent change of mind on the part of the Republicans to such an account as to create the impression that the party would hopelessly divide over the issue, and, in the end, lose the support of the country. But just then the humanitarian side of the problem came uppermost. The Porto Ricans were without home revenue, and in dire need and distress through nature's visitation. As soon as it was seen that the House would insist upon a modified tariff upon Porto Ricans goods, and further that the Senate would insist upon some kind of a civil government for the island, both of which would require time for deliberation, the president came to the rescue of the impoverished islanders with a message advising the restoration to them of the two millions of duties that had been collected on their exports since the date of the cession of the island to the United States. This restoration was promptly made by both houses of Congress. Then deliberation went on upon strictly party lines, with the result that a bill became a law reducing the tariff rates upon Porto Rican exports to fifteen per cent. which duties go into the island treasury, the law to be operative for only two years. This law also embraced a civil government for the island, composed of a governor, to be appointed by the president, an appointive commission of eleven to correspond with our Senate, and an elective body of thirty-five natives to correspond with our House of Representatives. These measures are all more or less tentative and experimental. They answer as a present and part, but by no means final, solution of the series of delicate problems and issues which environ our colonial situation.

GOVERNMENT OF PORTO RICO.

By HON. SHELBY M. CULLOM,
U. S. Senator, Illinois.

THE map of the world has been changed in the last two years. The Hawaiin Islands are about to take their place as a part of the United States, Cuba is no longer a possession of Spain, Porto Rico and the Philippines belong to the United States, while changes have been and are now taking place in other parts of the world which I trust and believe are in every instance for the betterment of mankind.

Porto Rico is at this time demanding our attention. What shall we do with this island possession? Porto Rico has had the attention of the president from the time of the surrender of the Spanish army in 1898 up to this hour. Its people are poor, ignorant, and unfortunate, their property having been largely destroyed or swept away by a great storm. They have been cared for by the president and the Secretary of War.

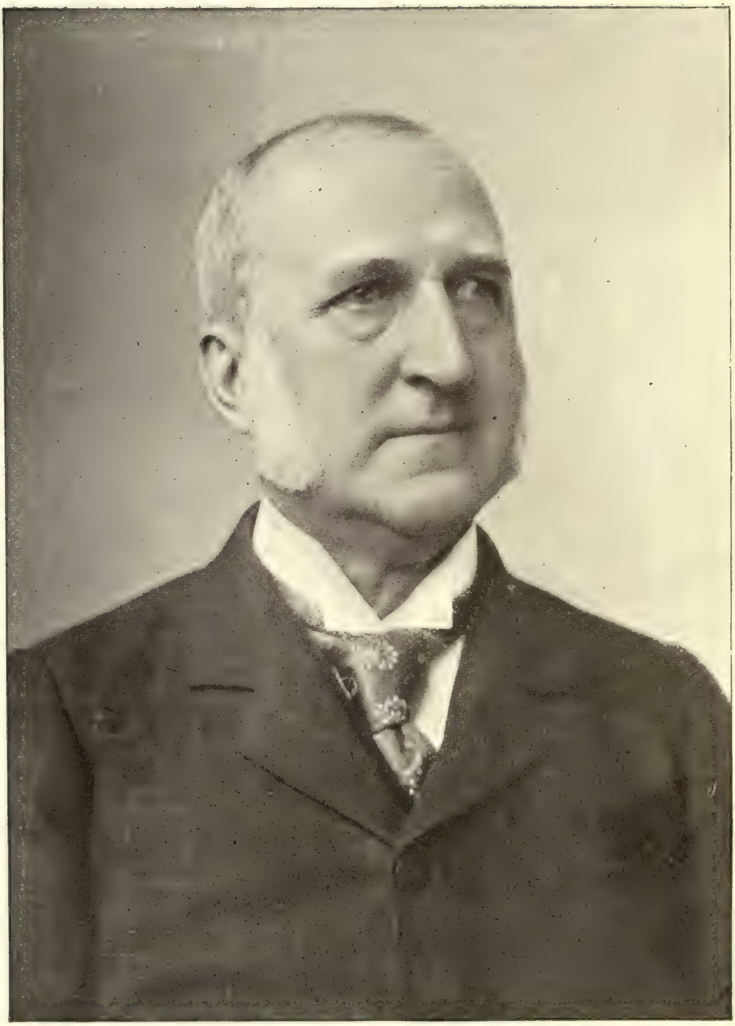
Only recently, upon the recommendation of the president, Congress appropriated over $2,000,000, which sum had been collected as tariff duties from Porto Rico for a certain period up to January last. The amount is to be used in pursuance of the act, under the direction of the president and Secretary of War, for the benefit of the needy, the distressed, and to rehabilitate the country in the improvement of roads, in the building of schoolhouses, in aid to the poor people, in planting and cultivating crops, etc.

Now that immediate and substantial relief has been given to the people of the island, we must meet the question as to what

JOHN WARWICK DANIEL.

John Warwick Daniel, Democrat, of Lynchburg, Campbell County, Va., born there September 5, 1842; attended private schools, Lynchburg College, Dr. Gessner Harrison's University School; entered Confederate army as 2d lieutenant, "Stonewall Brigade," in May, 1861 ,and became major and chief of staff of Gen. Jubal A. Early, on which he served until crippled in the Wilderness, May 6, 1864; studied law at University of Virginia, 1865-66, and practiced with his father, the late Judge William Daniel, Jr., until his death, in 1873; is LL. D. of Washington and Lee University and of Michigan University; is author of Daniel on Attachments and Daniel on Negotiable Instruments; member of Virginia House of Delegates, 1869 to 1872; member of State Senate from 1875 to 1881; Democratic elector at large, 1876, and delegate at large to National Democratic Conventions of 1880, 1888, 1892, and 1896; Democratic nominee for Governor in 1881, and defeated by William E. Cameron, Readjuster; elected to House of Representatives of Forty-ninth Congress in 1884; elected to United States Senate, to succeed William Mahone, and took his seat March 4, 1887; unanimously re-elected in December, 1891, and unanimously re-elected for the third term December, 1897. His term of service will expire March 3, 1905. Mr. Daniel has proven to be one of the most persisent and ablest advocates of legislation sanctioned by his party, and has done effective service on the Senate Committees of Finance, Foreign Relations, Revision of Laws, and the select committee of Industrial Expositions, as well as chairman of the committee on Woman's Suffrage.

JOHN WARWICK DANIEL.



CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW.

CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW.

Chauncey Mitchell Depew was born in Peekskill, N. Y., April 23, 1834; graduated from Yale College in 1856, and in 1887 received the degree of LL.D. from his alma mater; read law with Hon. William Nelson, of Peekskill, and was admitted to the bar in 1858, beginning the practice of his profession the next year; in 1861 was elected to the assembly, and re-elected in 1862; in 1863 led the Republican campaign in New York as candidate for secretary of state, and was elected by 30,000 majority; refused a re-nomination; was appointed minister to Japan, and was confirmed by the Senate, but declined to accept the office; in 1866 was appointed attorney for the New York and Harlem Railroad Company, and has since continuously been identified with that and the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, the successor of the former corporation, and with the various railroads comprising and allied to the Vanderbilt system as general counsel; became president of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad in 1885; resigned in 1899 to become chairman of the boards of directors of the New York Central, the Lake Shore, the Michigan Central and the New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad companies; in 1875 was appointed and served as boundary commissioner, fixing the state line with adjoining states; in 1872 was candidate for lieutenant governor on the Liberal Republican, or Greeley, ticket, but acted with the Republican party the next year, and has canvassed the state and country for the party every year since 1872; in 1874 was elected regent of the State University, and appointed one of the commissioners to build the state capitol; in 1885 the U. S. Senatorship was tendered him, but his business and professional engagements at that time prevented acceptance; was a candidate for the presidential nomination at the Republican national convention at Chicago in 1888, and received 91 votes; was delegate at large to the conventions in 1892 and 1896, presenting the name of President Harrison for renomination to the former and that of Governor Morton to the latter; was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Edward Murphy, Jr., Democrat. His term of service will expire March 3, 1905.

shall be the policy of the United States in dealing with them temporarily and in the future, and I desire that that word "temporarily" shall be emphasized, because that is what this bill proposes. Congress may be said to be dealing with a condition as well as a theory.

By Article II of the treaty of Paris, proclaimed April 11, 1899, Spain ceded to the United States the island of Puerto Rico and other islands under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies and the island of Guam in the Marianas, or Ladrones.

By a clause in Article IX of this treaty it is provided that—

The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territory hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by Congress.

Here, therefore, we find the basis of the title of the United States to the control and Government of Puerto Rico; but the United States has as yet fixed no form of "Territorial" or other permanent government for that island. The President has placed the temporary control and management of Puerto Rico under the military arm of the Government until such time as Congress shall fix its status and establish a permanent form of government.

The Constitution can not go to a Territory and enforce itself. The statute laws of the United States not locally inapplicable, as in the bill provided, shall be extended over the island.

There has been much said about the Constitution of and by its own force "following the flag;" that "whenever the sovereignty of the United States is established over any territory," then and there ex proprio vigore the Constitution is in force, without any action by Congress. I do not agree with that. That assumption was a step toward the justification of improper methods in government, and for some years it furnished the basis of the arguments in favor of the continuance and extension of human slavery in this country.

The Constitution has clothed the Congress with the powers necessary for establishing Territories and to make all needful rules and regulations respecting them, and has given that body sufficent scope within which to exercise such powers.

Congress not yet having determined the status of Porto Rico, nor enacted a form of government for it, and not having made it a Territory of the United States, nor a colony, nor any form of dependency, Porto Rico has no definable status and possesses only such municipal governmental qualities as may have been conferred upon it by order of the President of the United States under the war power. By this bill it is proposed to create a civil government.

Many people of the United States seem to regard the new possessions acquired by American arms and deeded to us by Spain in accordance with the treaty of Paris, proclaimed at Washington, April 11, 1899, as being fully annexed to the United States and entitled to the same rights and treatment as one of our home Territories. The truth is that Congress, under the Constitution, can give to the Porto Ricans such a form of Government as is deemed best for them and best for us.

I do not believe that the Constitution of the United States puts Congress in a strait-jacket and requires a particular form of government for every new acquisition of territory. We can give them a Territorial form of government such as is our usual form. We can govern them by a commission, by a military governor, or govern them as colonies or dependencies. So far as I am concerned, I believe in the ordinary Territorial form of government; but so far as the Constitution is concerned, I do not regard the country as tied down to any particular form.

We ought to give them a government of law and a government of their own, if they are capable of carrying it on; but it rests with Congress to determine the time and character of the government when given.

We have established temporary military governments in our new island possessions, looking toward their future welfare, and have in every possible way tried to qualify them for their coming responsibilities. In their transition from military governments toward the ways of peaceful life we are aiding them as best we can by sending them great quantities of supplies and provisions to relieve their necessities, and have tried to place in their hands the means of support. We have reduced the burdens of tariff charges so that their progress toward financial independence may not be retarded or impeded.

It does seem to me that while, as I have said, it occurred to me at first that plain free trade between the United States and Porto Rico was the right thing, yet when you come to investigate the condition of those people and learn that they are perfectly helpless, needing the support of the Government of the United States in some way, I believe that for temporary purposes there could not be a wiser provision than that which has been provided in the bill which we are now considering.

No man can truthfully say that if this bill shall become a law Congress is not dealing most liberally with the people of Porto Rico. It imposes no hardships upon those people. It provides the least possible rate of duty upon a few things in order to raise a little money to run their government, and that "little" only for a little while, until they can get a start in taking care of themselves by their own system of taxation, at which time absolute free trade is established between the United States and the island.

Who shall say that it is not right and just unless the objection is based on the doctrine that the island must be treated as occupying the same legal relation to the United States that any of the States occupy to the nation, and therefore, under the Constitution, Congress can not do otherwise than to establish free trade between that island and the United States? Any man who occupies that position, of course, can do nothing else but stand upon that ground, whatever the condition of those people may be; but it seems to me if he does not occupy that position, he can not say that this is not a just bill and a proper bill, under the circumstances, in starting out and trying to rehabilitate those people.

A wiser man than I has said that the next most disastrous event to a great defeat is a great victory. In the great struggle which has been successfully carried on with Spain, although we have won laurels of victory and added a vast territory to our possessions, yet unless we shall preserve and maintain our national dignity and honor in the management of that territory it will prove to us really a great disaster.

We have by the treaty of Paris brought to our sovereignty the fruitful and productive territory of Porto Rico and of the Philippines, altogether the most magnificent acquisition of insular territory in the world. It is an acquisition the title to which is fully confirmed by the laws of nations and is in our hands with which to do as we shall determine, in the wisdom of our counsels.

Shall we turn this great victory into a great misfortune by unseemly disputes over the management of what has come to us as the result of the Spanish war? Shall we turn these many thousand square miles of the richest land in the world into a desert waste because we differ as to the exact policy which should be pursued toward that island?

We have properly collected $2,000,000 in duties up to January last, almost wholly from the representatives of the sugar and tobacco monopolies in this country, although claimed to have been levied upon Porto Rican products, and we have already by law turned that sum over as a gracious gift to the people of Porto Rico to relieve them from the burdens imposed upon them by the great cyclone and by the needs of the schools, the roads, and by the inroads of famine and disease.

The trusts of the United States have held in their hands the thousands of tons of sugar and tobacco gathered together in Porto Rico, and the $2,000,000 dollars have been collected mainly from those great trusts owned in New York and Boston, and not at all, as is alleged by some, from the poor people of the island of Porto Rico.

Let the people of the country understand this, that these duties were not imposed upon the sufferers of that island, but every possible means has been used to make the people of the United States believe that the poverty-stricken Porto Ricans were being harassed and burdened still more by this tariff.

Let the truth be known. This whole "free-trade" scheme is nothing on earth but a deception, a delusion, and a snare to make our people believe that we are oppressing poor Porto Rico. Let the truth be known, whatever may happen. Any candid man, I think, must admit that this bill is in the interest of the people of Porto Rico.

I am amazed to see the wave of misrepresentation which has swept over the country as to this question of a Porto Rican tariff. It is high time to call a halt to this wild scramble of misrepresentation, backed up as it is by the direct personal insistence of representatives of the monopolistic interests to which I have referred. Free trade between Porto Rico and the United States is all right under ordinary circumstances, and in two years at the most we will have it. I trust that by that time the people of Porto Rico will be in a prosperous and self-sustaining condition.

We are aiding them as best we can and propose by this bill to put into their hands the means for their support until they have made a start toward financial independence and progress. The soldiers and sailors of the United States have circled the globe with their glory. They have ceased to be provincial and have crossed the seas, the mountains, and the rivers, and traversed the earth. They have planted the patriotic ensign of education and intelligence everywhere. Continents bear the evidences of this modern warfare in behalf of justice and right. The men who have borne our flag across the Pacific and over the archipelagoes loyally followed where loyal leaders led. They wore the badge of the United States and never asked to be called either Republican or Democrat. To be called an American soldier was honor enough. They never thought to inquire as to the politics of any of the gallant leaders of our armies. They were engaged in earning glory for the United States.

Let us in justice to Porto Rico and the other islands not destroy the distinctive relationship which exists between the islands and this country. I rejoice that we have a Government and an Administration with stamina and good sense enough to see that justice shall prevail, and I hope that the middle course marked out by this bill will, by its enactment, soon demonstrate the wisdom of the Government of the United States.

SMCullom

ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY.

George Dewey, Admiral U. S. N., was born in Montpelier, Vt., December 26, 1837. His father was a physician and of English descent. Young Dewey was appointed to a naval cadetship in 1854, and graduated from the Naval Academy in 1858, and in a class which has furnished a great number of men distinguished in the naval service. As a midshipman he served for two years in the Mediterranean service, on the "Wabash." He returned to Annapolis in 1860 for final examination.

A week after the firing on Fort Sumter he was commissioned a lieutenant and joined the gulf squadron under Farragut, where he distinguished himself on board the "Mississippi," at the passage of the batteries of St. Philips and Jackson. After the civil war he served as commander for two years in the European squadron. In 1870 he commanded the "Narragansett," and afterward the "Juniata," of the Asiatic squadron. In 1884 he received his captaincy and took charge of the "Dolphin." In 1884 he was transferred to the "Pensacola," flagship of the European squadron. After 1888 he served on shore duty in various capacities. On February 28, 1896, he was commissioned commodore, and at the beginning of 1898 was placed in command of the Asiatic station. On the breaking out of the war with Spain he was ordered to sail from Hong Kong to Manila Bay and attack the Spanish fleet there. This he did, and on May 1, 1898, gained one of the most signal victories in naval history by the destruction or capture of the entire Spanish fleet, without loss on his part. After assisting the land forces in the capture of Manila, he returned home to receive a grand ovation and the present of a home at the hands of a gracious people, and the title of admiral from the government.

GEORGE DEWEY.

JONATHAN P. DOLLIVER

JONATHAN PRENTISS DOLLIVER.

Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver was born near Kingwood, in Preston County, Virginia, (now West Virginia), on February 6, 1858. His early education was received at the common schools, after which he entered the West Virginia University, from which he graduated in 1875. He then became a student of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1878. On his removal to Iowa he became a resident of Fort Dodge. He rose into prominence in his profession, and took rank as one of the most learned, eloquent and earnest lawyers of the northwest. He also became eminent in the councils of the Republican party, though never solicitous of office. In 1888 he was elected to the Fifty-first Congress for the Tenth Iowa District, comprising fourteen counties. He was re-elected to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth, Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses, receiving at the last election 25,180 votes, to 17,777 for Edwin Anderson, Democratic Fusionist; 613 for P. J. Shaw, Prohibitionist, and 155 for A. Novelius, Populist.

In the House, Mr. Dolliver quickly reached a distinction accorded to but few of its younger members. His learning and industry made him a valuable member of important committees, and in the Fifty-sixth Congress he served as chairman of the committee on Expenditures in the Department of Justice, and as a member of the committee on Ways and Means. On the floor of the House he was recognized as a prince of debaters, his style of address being free and flowing, his language apt and ornate, his arguments lucid and convincing. What he touched he exhausted, and friend and foe paid him equal respect in discussion, especially of those new and novel questions which arose out of our insular conquests and forms of government for them. Mr. Dolliver's high personal character, skill in statesmanship and great oratorical powers have made him a popular favorite in the northwest and throughout the country. He was a conspicuous candidate for the vice presidency before the National Republican Convention, which met at Philadelphia on June 19, 1900.

THE PORTO RICAN TARIFF.

By HON. GEORGE B. McCLELLAN,
Member of Congress, New York.

WHATEVER may be the differences of opinion as to the status of the Philippines, I take it that we are all agreed that Porto Rico belongs to us, that she came to us by treaty, and that her inhabitants freely welcomed the sovereignty of the United States.

In this case there has been no violation of the great principles that "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." I take it further that there is no difference of opinion as to the right of the United States to acquire territory and as to the sovereignty of the United States over territory so acquired.

It is clear in law that the nationality of people of Porto Rico is that of the United States, and that the moment that Porto Rico was ceded to this country, those of its inhabitants who had not elected to remain Spaniards became citizens of the United States, and as such possessed all the rights and the immunities of citizens. If they are not citizens of the United States, what are they? They must owe allegiance to some government; they do not owe allegiance to Spain; Porto Rico belongs to the United States; they do owe allegiance to the United States; they must be and they are citizens of this country.

The inhabitants of Porto Rico being citizens of the United States, what is the status of the territory in which they reside? It is claimed that in so far as the Territories are concerned, the Constitution only applies as an act of grace on the part of

Congress; that until Congress extends the operation of the Constitution the Territories are without its pale.

If it is possible that the Constitution can only take effect in our Territories by act of Congress, if it is possible that its limitations can only apply when Congress may see fit, if the power of extending the Constitution to our Territories is vested in Congress, then Congress possesses the power to withdraw its application. If this is so, then there is no reason on earth why trial by jury may not be abolished in New Mexico and why a protective tariff may not be enforced against Arizona.

There is only one sovereignty in this country, that is the sovereignty of the people of the United States. The Constitution is one of specific grants of authority. Sufficient authority was granted to the Congress of the United States to govern the Territories, not beyond the Constitution, but within its provisions and its limitations. It is inconceivable that anyone should seriously maintain that Congress may govern the Territories according to its own will or caprice, without any limitation of its authority. It is clear that Congress has no such authority, and it is even more certain that the Constitution extends proprio vigore over all the Territories in the possession of the United States.

Now, as to the alternate proposition submitted by the opposition that even if the Constitution does extend proprio vigore over the Territories, in the case of Porto Rico the Treaty of Paris, as the supreme law of the land, becomes superior to the Constitution.

In the treaty of Paris it is provided—

That the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territory hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress.

It is said that the treaty, having become the supreme law of the land, confers upon Congress the power to determine the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of Porto Rico, even though this power is not conferred by the Constitution and is in violation of the provisions of that document. This contention is based on Article VI, section 2, of the Constitution, which is as follows:

This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

They insist that this proision does not say that all treaties made in pursuance of the Constitution, or consistently with the Constitution, but that all treaties made under the authority of the United States shall be, together with the Constitution and laws enacted in pursuance of it, the supreme law of the land; that no matter what the treaty may be, no matter how it may violate the provisions of the fundamental law, that treaty is superior to the Constitution.

If the contention of our opponents is correct, that a treaty is superior to the Constitution, then it would be within the power of the President and two-thirds of the Senate to practically repeal the Constitution. I would go even further. If a treaty is superior to the Constitution, and if, as has been decided, a subsequent act of Congress may amend or repeal a treaty, we would be confronted with the extraordinary proposition that the Constitution having been amended by a treaty might be subsequently amended through the amendment of that treaty by an act of Congress.

To sum up very briefly the legal aspect of this case, the inhabitants of Porto Rico became citizens of the United States the moment the cession of the island was complete, and from that moment they were entitled to all the rights and safeguards of the Constitution. The moment the cession of Porto Rico became complete the Constitution extended over it proprio vigore, and the clause of the Constitution requiring that all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform applied to Porto Rico as much as it applies to New York. The contention that a treaty is superior to the Constitution and that therefore, under the terms of the treaty of Paris, we may govern Porto Rico as we please—if you like, as an empire within a republic—is untenable.

This tariff bill is unconstitutional, and I have faith enough in the integrity and the ability of the Supreme Court to be confident that you are wasting time in its passage, and that it will be held to be unconstitutional when the first test case is submitted to our supreme tribunal.

There is another aspect of the question quite as important as the law in the case, and that is the moral aspect. It involves the good faith, the credit, and the honor of the United States.

The people of Porto Rico welcomed the army of the United States, because they had every right to think that it was the army of a deliverer and that the day when the Stars and Stripes floated for the first time over San Juan would usher in a new era for their helpless island, an era of prosperity, an era of good government, an era of liberty, and therefore an era of happiness. Porto Rico has come to us of her own free will, has come to us asking for the blessings of our Constitution, because of the unanimous desire of her people.

We have denied her that liberty, that freedom of intercourse with us, that she had every reason and right to expect.

We have not even permitted her to work out her salvation in her own way nor to profit by the enlightenment of the civilization of that country to which she belongs through the fortunes of war and by her own volition.

One of the arguments used in all seriousness by our opponents in support of their refusal to give Porto Rico free trade is that they fear Porto Rican competition for what they are pleased to call American products, as though Porto Rico were not a part of the United States, and that they fear that a policy of free trade with Porto Rico, will be only the entering wedge for a policy of free trade with the Philippines, should we ever in the future succeed in subduing them.

It was only a few months ago that those who are to-day crying out against free trade with Porto Rico were howling down anyone who objected to or who criticised their scarcely disguised policy of colonialism and imperialism. And now we find these same gentlemen insisting that the beneficent Dingley tariff law shall be raised as a national bulwark against the competition of Porto Rican sugar and Porto Rican tobacco, because the former might interfere with the beet-root sugar industry and the latter is so much superior to the product of Connecticut that it would drive Connecticut tobacco out of the market.

But Porto Rico belongs to us, and it is a problem that must be solved now. It is a part of the United States; the Constitution extends over it; its territory is our territory; its people are our citizens. Does the majority, after having embarked upon the unknown sea of foreign conquest, propose now to dodge the consequences of its own wrong? Does it propose to revive in the government of Porto Rico the long-exploded eighteenth century colonial system? Does it mean to say that, having acquired Porto Rico in the interest of humanity and in the cause of liberty, we shall govern it in the interest of beet sugar and in the cause of Connecticut fillers? The case of Porto Rico is very different from that of the Philippines, for its inhabitants are few and capable of education; they are peaceful and are anxious to obtain the blessings of American civilization, and what is more, they are at our very doors.

I believe that we can only hold territory, as a nation, in trust for the States that are ultimately to be erected out of that territory. I believe that we can only hold the territory of Porto Rico in trust for the sovereign State that will be some day admitted into the Union. We are only dealing with Porto Rico now, and yet the majority see in the proposition an endless skein of complications, for they know that, however they may disguise it, they propose to hold the Philippines in perpetual servitude.

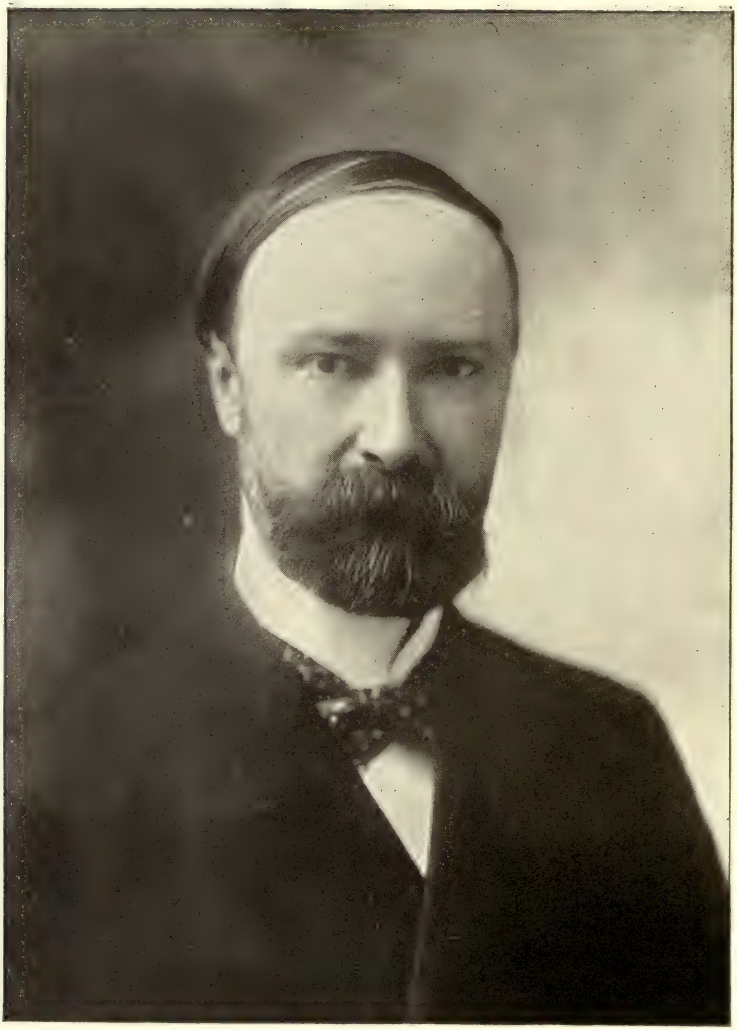
But we as a nation have given our sacred pledge of honor to Porto Rico that we would treat her as a part of this country. Might does not make right. We have the power to repudiate our plighted word; but if there is any honor in nations, if there is such a thing as national good faith, Porto Rico has the right to demand of us that sooner or later she will be received as a State in the Federal Union. To make her fit for self-government we must first care for her material prosperity. Common honor, common justice, ordinary good faith require, the Constitution, which is the fundamental law of the land, demands that we give Porto Rico free trade.

There are those of us who are fond of saying that the white man's burden lies far beyond the summer seas, and that the white man's duty requires that he bear his burden, no matter how much it may oppress him. There are those of us, who in all sincerity, maintain that it is the duty of this country to

STEPHEN BENTON ELKINS.

Stephen Benton Elkins was born in Perry County, Ohio, September 26th, 1841. He was educated in the public schools and the University of the state, graduating in 1860, at the head of his class. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1863. During the civil war he served for a time on the Missouri border as captain. In 1864 he went to New Mexico, where, after acquiring the Spanish language, he acquired a large legal practice. In 1866 he was elected to the Territorial Legislature, and in 1867 rose to the position of Attorney General. In 1868 he was appointed United States District Attorney of the Territory by President Johnson and was retained by President Grant. In 1869 he was elected president of the First National Bank of Santa Fe, and held the position for thirteen years. In 1873 he was elected a delegate from New Mexico to Congress. Elected a second time, his speech in favor of the admission of the Territory as a State gave him a national reputation. In 1875 he became a member of the Republican National Committee and served through three presidential campaigns. In December, 1891, he became Secretary of War, under President Harrison. In 1878 he moved from New Mexico to West Virginia, where he devoted himself to the development of the railroads and mining industries of the state, as president of the Davis Coal and Coke Co., and vice-president of the West Virginia Central and Pittsburgh R. R. Co., and Piedmont and Cumberland R. R. In 1892 he received the complimentary vote of the Republicans of the West Virginia Legislature for United States Senator. During the campaign of 1894 he led the Republicans of the state, with the result that the Democrats were defeated throughout and Mr. Elkins was elected to the United States Senate. He has acquired ample wealth, and ranks as one of the strong debaters and solid business men of the Senate. He is sturdily built and devoted to library or home. He resides at "Halliehurst," his country seat near Elkins, in Randolph County, West Virginia. During a casual residence in New York he was honored with membership in the Union League, and many similar clubs and societies.

STEPHEN BENTON ELKINS.



CHARLES WARREN FAIRBANKS.

CHARLES WARREN FAIRBANKS.

Charles Warren Fairbanks, of Indianapolis, was born on a farm near Unionville Center, Union County, Ohio, May 11, 1852; was educated in the common schools of the neighborhood and at the Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, graduating from that institution in 1872 in the classical course; was admitted to the bar by the supreme court of Ohio in 1874; removed to Indianapolis in the same year, where he has since practiced his profession; never held public office prior to his election to the Senate; was elected a trustee of the Ohio Wesleyan University in 1885; was chairman of the Indiana Republican State Convention in 1892; was unanimously chosen as the nominee of the Republican caucus for United States Senator in the Indiana Legislature in January, 1893, and subsequently received his entire party vote in the Legislature, but was defeated by David Turpie, Democrat; was a delegate at large to the Republican National Convention at St. Louis in 1896, and was temporary chairman of the convention; was elected to the United States Senate as a Republican January 20, 1897, by a majority of 21 on joint ballot, over Daniel W. Voorhees and Leroy Templeton, and took his seat March 4, 1897. His term of service will expire March 3, 1903.

Mr. Fairbanks has signalized his senatorial career by industrious application to varied duties, aptness as a courteous parliamentarian, and great force in perspicuous and logical debate. In committee work he has served ably as chairman of the committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and as member of the committees on Geological Survey, Immigration, Relations with Canada, Judiciary and Pacific Islands.

extend the blessings of its civilization to the people of the East. They tell us that an open door in China would increase our commerce, and that the addition of millions of pauper savages to our body politic will improve the condition of American labor. I may be conservative beyond reason, but I think that I am an humble member of the great majority of the people of this country when I believe that the greatest glory of a free people is in its honor and in its righteousness as a nation; that there is only one rule of conduct for the individual and for government; that the same standard of honor should govern this Congress as governs its most inconspicuous member; that our ultimate destiny must be worked out in the factories of New York and on the fishing smacks of New England, in the wheat fields of the West and the plantations of the South; that we must strive for happiness, not in Asia, but in America; that the radiance of our flag consists not in the triumphs of unnecessary foreign wars, but in the triumphs of necessary domestic peace; that the wealth of this nation should not be expended in behalf of the selfish ambitions of the few, but in the cause of the many; that the duty of the United States does not lie in the conquest of Oriental peoples, but in the conquest of the happiness of our own.

THE PROPER PORTO RICAN GOVERNMENT.

By HON. EDGAR WEEKS,
Member of Congress, Michigan.

THE President has remitted to Congress the pending problem of governing Porto Rico, and the principal feature of his suggestions regarding this island seems to be that the present military government should be superceded by a temporary civil government, under a governor to be appointed by the President, and such officers as the general administration of affairs may require.

I went to Porto Rico from a sense of duty to myself and the country, and after a careful observation became thoroughly convinced that those people are not prepared for self-government. I am firmly of the opinion that they are not prepared to be vested with the franchise of American citizenship. Imagine, if you please, any state in the Union peopled with a mass of ignorance so dense and universal as exists in Porto Rico. Reverse the situation in any of the great states of the Union and place there a population 85 or 90 per cent of whom are unable to read, and the picture would appall the most casual thinker in this House.

The status of Porto Rico is not that of a Territory; it is not that of a State. Its people are not citizens of the United States. At the same time it is not a foreign country nor are its people absolutely aliens. It is a piece of property or territory captured in war and now in the possession and custody of the army of the United States.

The Constitution, Article IV, section 3, gives Congress the power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; until Congress shall assume to legislate, this territory or property remains in the hands of the military arm of the government, under the control of the president. In this fashion it has remained for over one year (since the 18th of October, 1898), and during that time a military government has discharged the functions of civil government in all its branches on the island.

While I favor the continuance of the present form of government there, I would urge that every possible feature of civil government should be maintained, especially in the administration of such laws as the President may, in his wisdom, recommend. I would not recommend immediately investing in the people there the franchise of citizenship or the right to vote. Just and good government can be maintained there without either until such time as, through education and experience, familiarity with American ideas shall be obtained by the inhabitants. Far better so than the frequent revolutions and bloodshed which have characterized the Latin and native and mixed races of Central and South America and certain West India islands for hundreds of years. With the steady hand of the American government in control, the people will eventually discover where the path of peace, order, education, obedience to law, and the will of the majority will place them, and in the fullness of time the people of Porto Rico will become so Americanized as to make good citizens and the fair island become the real gem of the Antilles.

A strong argument for the continuation of the military government in Porto Rico is the organization of political parties there just prior to the recent municipal elections. I happened to be there during those elections. I attended the polls and saw and talked with the officers superintending the election. The spectacle of these elections was not encouraging. Riot and disorder and bloodshed occurred in a few places, and the mob of ignorant "electors" raged through the streets shouting "death to this one," "down with that one." So repulsive was this exhibition that the present military governor issued an order suppressing such demonstrations and threatened to proclaim martial law in case such proceedings were repeated. Peace and order followed this exercise of power by the governor, thus furnishing strong argument in favor of a continuance of military government there.

The present military government has already accomplished great good for these people. Peace and order reign in all the island. Life and property are as safe as in any State in the Union. I traveled across the island, over mountains, through valleys, and through populated towns, wholly unarmed and without thought of personal danger, going about day or night, in country or city, just as one would in the most peaceful neighborhood of the States. The present government has brought to the people of Porto Rico but little benefit, however, because the Spanish laws and ancient customs have been suffered to continue and because the exactions of officials under Spanish laws are continued under American administration under the plea that the law warrants these exactions. Instances of this state of things can be readily cited and it is a weak spot in our administration there that these things have not been corrected by military order.

But the hesitation of our military government in dealing with these scandals has arisen from the doubt as to the immediate future there. The well-known antipathy of a great many Americans to what they are pleased to call "militarism" has had some influence in this matter; but once let Congress declare that the present form of military government must continue in Porto Rico, and all these abuses will, no doubt, be promptly corrected. We must not pause out of respect for ancient usages. If a thing is oppressive or exacting, root it out at once. I believe the time is not yet ripe for the mass of the people of that island to be trusted with self-government, with citizenship, or with the exercise of the elective franchise, and I believe that the day we change the form of government there, if done now, will be a day of disaster for Porto Rico.

A military government can be so constituted as to meet all the emergencies and demands which can properly be made upon a civil administration. A system of education; a system of taxes based on assessment of property; a re-adjustment of our tariff to suit the necessities and conditions there; a code of civil and criminal law; habeas corpus; trial by jury where it is possible; highways and bridges; franchises to railway and electric-motor companies; support of the poor; regulation of marriage; recording real estate deeds and mortgages; prevention of contagious diseases; regulation of liquor traffic, and all subjects of ordinary municipal and State legislation could be provided for, the peace maintained, and civil and religious liberty protected under the military governments as well as under a civil government.

My observations among the educated natives, the business men, and those who have the substantial interests of Porto Rico at heart lead me to believe that they most earnestly and cordially commend the present government in that island. They concede the great benefits already conferred, and the great promise of the future from a wise, strong and intelligent administration, and express the belief that the welfare and prosperity of all classes in the island depend upon the continuance there of the military government for an indefinite period. They concede that it would prove disastrous to those interests if the affairs of insular government should, through a mistaken policy, fall into the control of the uneducated masses under the leadership of scheming and unscrupulous local politicians.

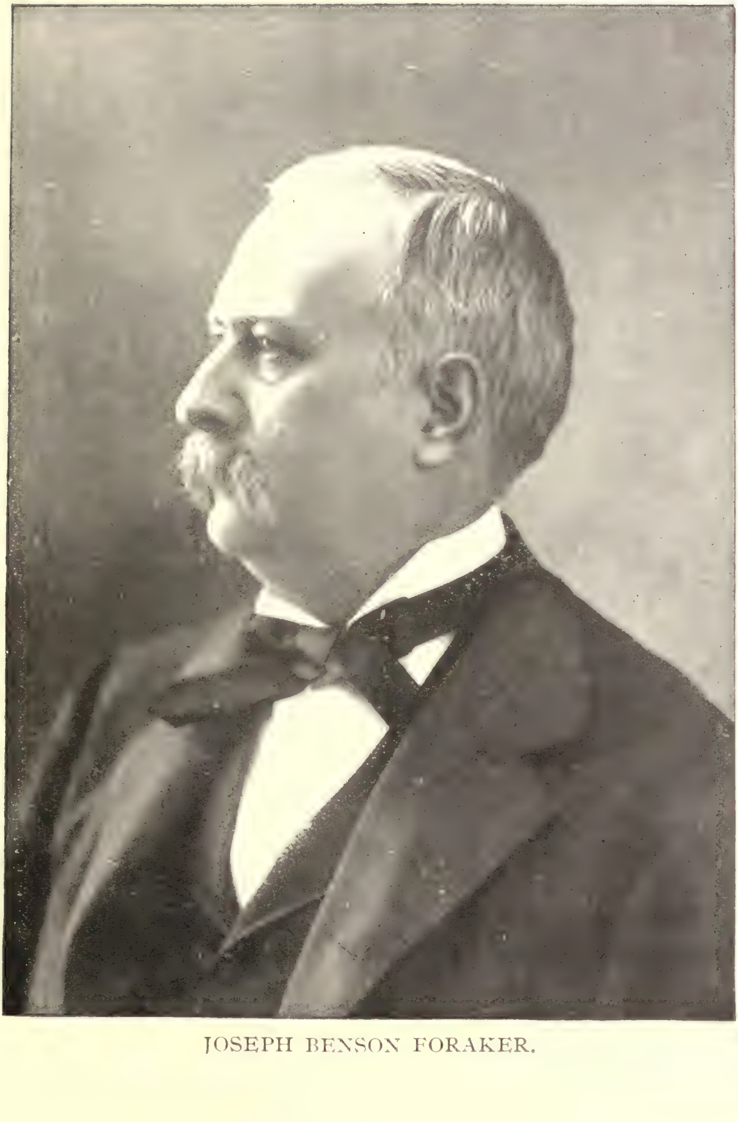
While we are discussing these questions relative to the island of Porto Rico, why not turn to Cuba for a brilliant example of the kind of Government which I am urging for its neighboring isle? The splendid administration of General Wood, from the time he began the occupation of Santiago until this hour, furnishes the most cogent argument for us here. He is dealing with a people similar in habit, in social, moral, religious, educational and political condition—a people speaking the same language, possessing the same defects, lacking the same qualities as the men of Porto Rico; and day by day the American newspapers are filled with praise for the conditions enforced in Cuba by General Wood. The problem is the same almost in both these islands, so far as the present condition is concerned, and the same firm hand of military government which is educating the Cuban people and preparing them for self-government is needed in Porto Rico.

When the United States purchased from France the territory of Louisiana, in April, 1803, no war existed there, yet the President set up there a military government, which continued for some time, during which time Congress did not feel called upon to even suggest any change, except in October, 1803, when it passed, by large majorities in both Houses, an act containing a grant of plenary authority to the President.

Cuba is only in our temporary possession, with a pledge that such possession shall not ripen into sovereignty, but be held for the Cuban people, to be surrendered to a government when formed, which shall carry out the obligation we have as-

JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER.

Joseph Benson Foraker, Republican, of Cincinnati, Ohio, was born July 5, 1846, on a farm near Rainsboro, Highland County, Ohio; enlisted July 14, 1862, as a private in Company A, Eighty-ninth Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Infantry, with which organization he served until the close of the war, at which time he held the rank of first lieutenant and brevet captain; was graduated from Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., July 1, 1869; was admitted to the bar and entered upon the practice of the law at Cincinnati, Ohio, October 14, 1869; was elected Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati in April, 1879; resigned on account of ill health May 1, 1882; was the Republican candidate for Governor of Ohio in 1883, but was defeated; was elected to that office in 1885, and reelected in 1887; was again nominated for Governor and defeated in 1889; was chairman of the Republican State Conventions of Ohio for 1886, 1890, and 1896, and a delegate at large to the National Republican Conventions of 1884, 1888, 1892, and 1896; was chairman of the Ohio delegation in the conventions of 1884 and 1888, and presented to both of these conventions the name of Hon. John Sherman for nomination for the Presidency; in the conventions of 1892 and 1896 served as chairman of the committee on resolutions, and as such reported the platform each time to the convention; presented the name of William McKinley to the convention of 1896 for nomination to the Presidency; was elected United States Senator January 15, 1896, to succeed Calvin S. Brice, and took his seat March 4, 1897. His term will expire March 3, 1903. During the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress, Mr. Foraker added greatly to his distinction as an able legislator and debater by his advocacy of a civil government for the island of Porto Rico, a measure reported favorably by the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, of which he was chairman. On account of his mastery of the subject, he was invited to explain our Porto Rico relations before the Union League of Philadelphia. He also served actively and ably on the Senate Committees on Foreign Relations, University of U. S., Pacific Railroads, Transportation, and Civil Service.



JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER.

ADDISON G. FOSTER.

ADDISON G. FOSTER.

Addison G. Foster, Republican, of Tacoma, Wash., was born at Belchertown, Mass., January 28, 1837, being a descendant of Reginald Foster, who landed at Ipswich in 1638; his parents were among the pioneers of Wisconsin, residing at Sheboygan Falls; later they removed to Oswego, Kendall County, Ill., where he receieved a good common school education, and started out in life by teaching school, finally settling at Wabasha, Minn., and engaging in the grain and real estate business; there his friends prevailed upon him to accept his first and last public offices until elected United States Senator from Washington, serving as county auditor and county serveyor one term in each position; in 1873 removed to St. Paul, Minn., and engaged extensively in lumbering, contracting, and the fuel supply trade with Col. C. W. Griggs, of that city, and now of Tacoma, who has ever since been his close business and personal associate; in Minnesota participated actively in several Congressional and Senatorial contests; has always been a Republican and active in maintaining party organization; in Washington has extensive lumber, coal, coke, packing-house, and shipping interests; he and his business associates send the chief products of Washington throughout the United States by rail and by sail and steam vessels throughout the world; was elected to the United States Senate to succeed John L. Wilson, Republican. His term of service will expire March 3, 1905. Mr. Foster was honored with the responsible position of the chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Coast and Insular Survey, and with membership on the committees of Agriculture and Forestry, Fisheries, Manufactures, Woman Suffrage and Revolutionary Claims.

sumed. Presumably such a government is intended as shall be able to perform the obligation incurred. That is all our interest in Cuba.

But Porto Rico and the Philippine Archipelago present a different problem. These were conquered and purchased, and ceded. Our title is full and complete. These islands belong to the United States, but as yet are not part of the United States.

In the Philippines we have a contest on our hands by some of the former subjects of Spain who rebel against our sovereignty, and until this rebellion is suppressed there can be no thought of civil government and no legislation by Congress in the way of making laws for them is suggested.

But with Porto Rico the case is entirely different. Here we have had no rebellion, the people are our friends, good order prevails, they demand American laws. They wish to be relieved from the old Spanish laws, royal decrees, and so forth, and from their discriminations and unjust exactions and oppressions. Some few clamor for self-government and representation in Congress, or at least Territorial rights, but these claims are at present at best untenable and need not be considered in this discussion.

But it is universally conceded that in some way our system of laws and jurisprudence should be extended to them, and at once.

The all-important question is how or by whom—by Congress or by the President as Commander in Chief? Undoubtedly both have the power to do so. The effect to follow is, however, quite different.

These islands came to us very differently—that is, on different terms—from any former acquisition of territory. In all other treaties the "political status and civil rights" of the people in the territory ceded as citizens, etc., of the United States was defined in the treaty, which was binding on Congress. Louisiana in 1803 and Florida in 1819 were purchased, New Mexico and California by conquest and by purchase, Alaska by purchase, Texas by annexation, and some other territory by cession from the original States. In all these cases the territory became at once, on approval of the treaty or by its terms, a part of the United States and the people clothed with the rights and duties of citizens.

In this case the treaty provides that "The civil rights and political status of the inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress." This and nothing more, except "the inhabitants of the territories (not citizens) shall be secured in the free exercise of their religion." This last would not have been necessary if these people were at once to be citizens of the United States and our laws were by operation of law, on ratification of the treaty, to be extended over them, as such is the privilege of all under our laws. Again, some provision is made for security of Spanish citizens—natives of Spain—and how they may preserve their allegiance to Spain, and it is provided that in default of this "they shall be held to have renounced it and to have adopted the nationality of the territory in which they may reside," not to have become citizens of the United States, as it was in terms provided in the treaty with Mexico. Again, in Article VII this distinction is made: Each government relieves the other for all claims of its "citizens or subjects" against the other, etc., and provides, "The United States will adjudicate and settle the claims of its citizens against Spain relinquished in this article." This does not mean the claims of Porto Ricans, Filipinos, or Cubans, but only of "American citizens."

So that it is clear that by the ratification of this treaty these people did not become American citizens, but remained simply "native inhabitants of the territories ceded," with their political status and civil rights yet to be determined. The treaty does not provide when Congress shall determine this matter. Until it does the islands remain our property, our military possessions, but not a part of the United States, and the people remain "inhabitants of the islands" under our military control. Neither authorities nor precedents are wanting in this country or in Europe for full control and government of these possessions by military authority, though by civil form of government and promulgation of full code of laws and appointment of civil officers by the Commander in Chief, from the time of conquest to government by Congress. As long as Congress does not act the President may, but when Congress does act by declaring the islands a part of the United States, or by assuming to legislate for them as citizens, the military power ceases and Congress must then pass all the legislation for them or authorize them as Territories or States to legislate for themselves.

The laws can not be partly made by Congress and partly by the President as Commander in Chief, as it is only in the absence of Congressional legislation that his power to promulgate laws exists when Congress has the power or when in possession of foreign territory where Congress has not the power. The commander in chief of all nations has possessed this power since governments existed among men; our President therefore had it before the Constitution was adopted, and it does not deny this power. This power to govern extends to all conquered countries and is constitutionally invoked whenever Congress "declares war," and continues till superseded or taken away by surrender or recapture of the territory conquered by Congress providing for the government.

This power to govern as a military possession applies to a people and to territory not citizens and not a part of the United States as well as to people who are but are without government and disputing our authority, as with the Southern States during and after the rebellion. And the laws so promulgated over foreigners and territory not a part of the United States especially need not in all respects conform to the limitations of the Constitution on the power of Congress to make laws. "The Constitution can have no operation in another country."

It has been suggested that Congress might make some laws for Porto Rico now, such as establishing United States courts there, making customs laws, and regulating the currency, and then leave the rest to the President. But it would seem that this can not be. By establishing United States courts, or any other act of distinct municipal legislation, Congress in fact declares the island a part of the United States and its people citizens, otherwise it could not legislate, and if Congress so fixes the "political status," the Commander in Chief loses his power to make laws, and Congress is forbidden to delegate its power to legislate to any person, committee, or body. So whatever reforms are needed would all have to be prescribed by Congressional law.

It has been suggested also by some who have not studied the question that Congress might declare that the islands were not a part of the United States; that the people should remain "inhabitants of the island," etc., and still legislate for them. But this can hardly be possible, as we have seen Congress get its power from the Constitution; that the Constitution establishes a government for America only. Besides, the rule is universal that the laws of Congress or of a State legislature can have no effect beyond the limits of the boundaries of the

State or nation. It has been held that the laws of a nation have no extra territorial effect or jurisdiction. I am strong in the conviction that the present government of Porto Rico is the best. If the President makes a mistake it can be promptly remedied either by himself or Congress. And in this we have, through the military, as complete a colonial system as is possessed by any other country. Why not use it, at least while we are solving the complicated questions presented? What good reason can be assigned for at once taking the affirmative step and making these people of alien and mixed races American citizens, with no probation, no knowledge of our laws or customs, and 90 per cent. absolutely ignorant and uninformed? Why throw down all tariff barriers which we have struggled to erect for the protection of American industries to the lowering of the standard of American citizenship and the injury of all and utter destruction of many American industries?

Edgar Weeks

PORTO RICO LEGISLATION.

By HON. JOSEPH B. FORAKER,
U. S. Senator, Ohio.

HERE is the situation when Congress was called upon to legislate for Porto Rico:

A civil government was a necessity. It must have $3,000,000 for its support, and the municipalities must have at least one million more.

There was no system of direct taxation of property in operation. There was no time to establish one. Moreover, if there had been time, such a system would have entailed upon that people an impossible burden.

Four per cent., or even three per cent., is too burdensome a tax rate to impose on the property of even the most prosperous State in the Union. To impose it on Porto Rico would mean only disaster, failure, bankruptcy, and despair.

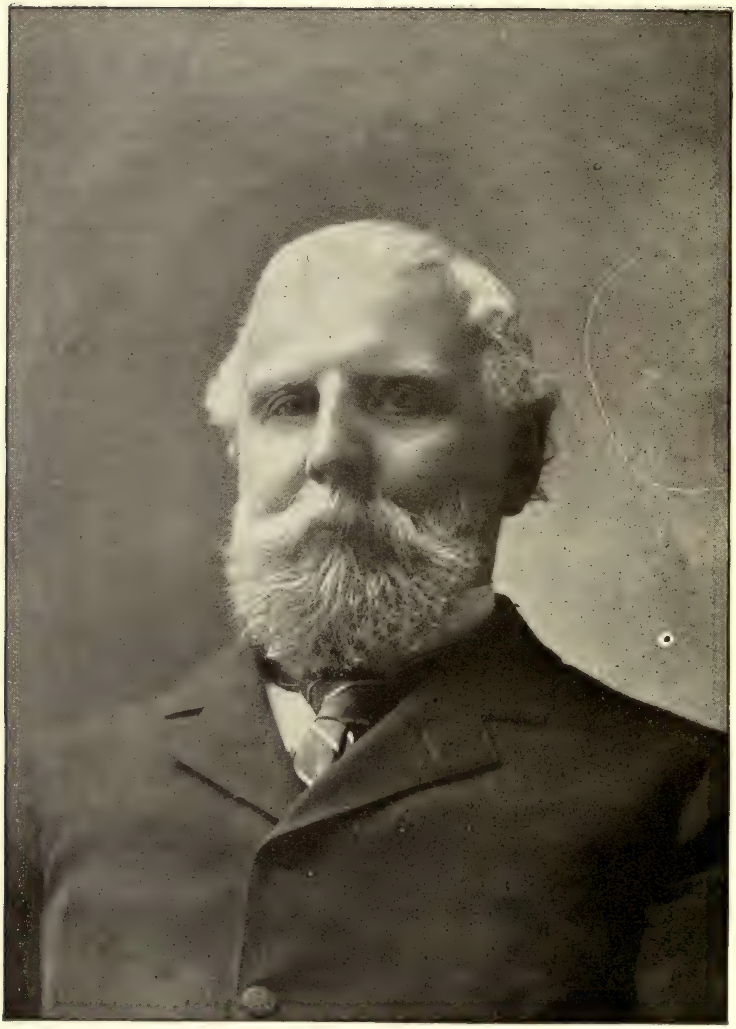
In view of these considerations, we decided, first, that we would find some way to exempt the people of that island from the direct taxation of their property, such as every other State and Territory of the Union has always been subjected to. The generosity of this proposition was far greater and more helpful than that recommended by the president. No such favor has ever been shown to any other people for whom we have legislated.

We next decided, for the reasons already given, that we would not, for the time being, undertake to apply and enforce our internal-revenue laws in the island, but, except on merchandise imported into the United States, we would exempt

WILLIAM PIERCE FRYE.

William P. Frye was born at Lewiston, Me., September 2, 1831. His father was Col. John M. Frye, one of the early settlers and most respected citizens of the town. His grandfather was Gen. Joseph Frye, a general in the American army during the revolutionary war. For his military services he received a grant of the town of Fryeburg, Me. William P. graduated at Bowdoin College, Me., in 1860, and began practicing law in 1863. He was a member of the State Legislature in 1861, 1862 and 1867. In the later year he was elected Attorney-general of the State, and served for three years. In 1871 he was elected to Congress, and in 1872, 1876 and 1880 he was a member of the National Republican Executive Committee. In the same years he was chosen as a delegate to the National Republican Conventions. In 1881 he was elected chairman of the Republican State Committee to succeed James G. Blaine. In 1880 he was elected a Trustee of Bowdoin College, from which he received the degree of L.L. D., in 1889. From 1871 he was elected continuously to Congress until 1881, when he was elected to the U. S. Senate. He was re-elected in 1883, 1888, and 1895. Was elected President pro tempore of the Senate in 1896, and served as a member of the Paris peace treaty in 1898. Upon the death of Vice President Hobart, in 1899, Mr. Frye assumed the duties of his office, as presiding officer of the Senate. In the House Mr. Frye was always an active member of leading committees. In the Senate he has for years been chairman of the committees on Commerce and Rules, and member of that on Foreign Relations. He has always taken a keen interest in debates and reports, and has never been out of demand as a campaign orator, having participated in every national campaign for forty years and spoken in nearly every Northern State.

WILLIAM PIERCE FRYE



LYMAN J. GAGE.

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Lyman J. Gage, of Chicago, Ill., Secretary of the Treasury, was born in Deruyter, Madison County, N. Y., June 28, 1836; received a common school education in his native county, but, his parents removing to Rome, N. Y., in 1848, he there received the advantages of the Rome Academy; entered the banking business in the lowest position at the age of 18; going West in 1855 to seek a betterment in fortune, after some trials he obtained in 1858 a bookkeeper's position in the Merchants' Loan and Trust Company, of Chicago; his promotion was rapid; in 1868 he was cashier of the bank; believing that the national banking system was superior to the State law, under which the Merchants' Loan and Trust Company was organized, he accepted the appointment as cashier of the First National Bank of Chicago in the year 1868; its charter expiring, the bank was reorganized in 1882, with a capital of $3,000,000, and Mr. Gage was made vice president and general manager, and in 1891 he was elected president; has never held political office, though often pressed to allow his name to be used, notably for the office of mayor of Chicago; on February 15, 1897, he resigned the presidency of the bank in order to accept the portfolio of the United States Treasury; was appointed March 4 and confirmed by the Senate March 5, 1897, and immediately entered upon the discharge of his duties as Secretary of the Treasury, in which responsible position he has shown such comprehension of financial details and conservative control of monetary affairs as to have secured for the national currency, the banking system, and federal obligations, a standing never before surpassed.

the people of Porto Rico therefrom—another favor never before shown to anybody—and, in the third place, we decided that we would protect their coffee, which constitutes their chief industry and amounts to more than two-thirds of their exports, from injurious competition, by levying a duty of five cents a pound on all coffee imported into Porto Rico; and then, finally, we determined that there should be collected on all goods imported into Porto Rico from foreign countries tariff duties as provided by the tariff laws of the United States, but that, instead of turning this money over to the National Treasury for the benefit of the United States as we have always heretofore done to every other Territory, we would turn it over to Porto Rico for the benefit and support of its government.

We then found, according to the best estimates we could make, that when all this had been done, there would remain a large deficiency, amounting to from $1,000,000 to $1,500,000.

The question, then, was how further we could raise revenue without directly taxing the property of the island to meet this deficiency; and we found that we could, in our opinion, best accomplish this by leaving a light tariff duty upon the commerce between the United States and Porto Rico; and so we finally concluded, and provided in the bill that instead of absolute free trade, which all desired, as well as the president, we would for a short time, until the local government could be put in operation and devise a system of taxation for its support, reduce the tariff and dutiable goods coming from Porto Rico into the United States only eighty-five per cent, instead of entirely remitting it, and that we would, for the present, allow all food products and necessaries of life, farm implements, machinery, etc., to enter Porto Rico free of duty; but on other articles, whatever they might be, we would reduce the Dingley rates only 85 per cent. You hear constantly of our putting on commerce with Porto Rico a tariff of fifteen percent., when the truth is we removed all but fifteen per cent. We did not add or increase, but reduced and remitted.

We expressly provided, however, that on and after March 1, 1902, there shall be absolute free trade between Porto Rico and the United States, and that there shall be such free trade sooner—in a year, six months, or ninety days, possibly—whenever the local government shall have provided otherwise for its necessary revenues, and that, in the meanwhile, all collections, both those to be made in Porto Rico and those to be made in the United States, shall be paid over to Porto Rico for the support of the government without placing an additional burden upon the already over-burdened lands and property of the island.

No such liberal and generous government as to revenues was ever given by this nation or any other to any Territory or colony. It far surpassed all recommendations and all expectations. It should be further stated that an analysis of the articles constituting this trade shows that this tax so imposed would be borne almost exclusively by the sugar and tobacco interests, more able than any others to bear it without feeling any burden.

Our Democratic friends said, "The Constitution follows the flag," and that we were violating that instrument; that it required that duties, customs and imposts should be uniform throughout the United States, and, consequently, we could not have free coffee here and protected coffee there; internal-revenue taxation here and no such taxation there; that we could not collect tariff taxes there, except as here, for the common benefit of the whole country; and that Porto Rico being a part of the United States, we could not collect tariff duties on commerce between there and here any more than between New York and Pennsylvania.

Suffice it to say that the radical basic difference in the whole matter lies at the very beginning—as to whether or not Porto Rico is a part of the United States. Democrats and many Republicans have assumed the affirmative of this proposition to be true. Such is not the case. Porto Rico belongs to the United States, but is not the United States, nor a part of the United States.

When we acquired Louisiana, Florida, New Mexico, etc., it was provided in the treaty in each case that its inhabitants should be incorporated into the Union of the United States and be admitted to all rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States.

The act by which we annexed Hawaii declares in express terms that the Hawaiian Islands shall become and be a part of the United States. But no such provision was incorporated in the treaty of Paris as to Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands; and if there had been, it is safe to say that treaty would never have been ratified. On the contrary, for the purpose of making it clear that no such consequence was intended, it was provided in the treaty that—

The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by Congress.

This provision was insisted upon by our commissioners and was necessary to the ratification of the treaty, because we had then too little knowledge of the people of the Philippines and not enough of those in Porto Rico to know whether it would be wise or desirable to incorporate them into our body politic and extend to them the privileges and immunities of

American citizenship and undertake to govern them under the Constitution and subject to its restraints and requirements.

The Constitution provides that a treaty shall be a part of the supreme law of the land. This provision gave to Congress an undoubted right to incorporate the inhabitants of these islands into the Union of States, as was provided in the Louisiana, Florida, and Mexican treaties, or to leave them outside, as it might deem advisable; to make them citizens of the United States or withhold from them that quality; to impose on them the same burdens of taxation that are imposed on the people of the States and Territories of the United States or different burdens—heavier or lighter; to require them to pay internal-revenue taxes or not pay them; to give them free trade with us or to restrict it, for all these matters enter into and constitute their civil rights and political status.

In other words, the Congress had plenary power over the whole subject by the terms of the treaty itself; but Congress had this same power under the Constitution.

The third section of the fourth article provides:

Congress shall have the power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States.

It will be observed that the Constitution, by the language of this provision, draws a distinction between the United States and territory belonging to the United States, and that it places territory belonging to the United States on a par with "other property," so far as the power of the Congress to deal with it is concerned. Congress can sell or give away—"dispose of"—territory that simply belongs as property to the United States, but no one has ever pretended that the Congress has power to sell or part with any portion of the United States.

Congress must govern the United States according to the Constitution, which is the organic law of the Union, but it can govern a Territory that simply belongs to the United States as it may think best, restrained only by the positive prohibitions of the Constitution and the general spirit of our institutions, which is above all written law.

In providing government for such territory Congress may enact that the Constitution shall extend to it, or, rather, that it shall have force and effect therein, to use a more accurate expression.

In such case the Constitution, in so far as applicable, would be a rule of action to be observed there the same as in any State, but in the absence of such action by Congress it would not have there such force and effect.

This doctrine has been clearly established by repeated decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, as I understand them, and has been uniformly acted upon in all legislation for our Territories since the beginning of our Government.

In the early Territorial legislation the Constitution was not extended to or given force and effect in the Territories by Congress, and all legislation proceeded on the theory that in consequence the Congress was not limited or restrained by its requirements, except as already indicated.

Since 1850 it has been the practice "to extend" the Constitution to Territories, a clear recognition of the fact that without such action it does not so extend.

We have heard much in the recent discussion about the Constitution extending, ex proprio vigore, to newly acquired territory at the moment of its acquisition.

This doctrine originated with John C. Calhoun and was advocated by him for the first time in the debates preceding the legislation establishing the Territorial governments for New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah, and he advocated it in the interest of human slavery, to carry that institution into those Territories.

Thomas H. Benton, in his "Thirty Years in the United States Senate," on page 713, Volume II, has this to say of the origin of this doctrine, its purposes, and its character:

A new dogma was invented to fit the case—that of the transmigration of the Constitution (the slavery part of it) into the Territories—overriding and overruling all the anti-slavery laws which it found there, and planting the institution there under its own wing, and maintaining it beyond the power of eradication, either by Congress or the people of the Territory. Before this dogma was proclaimed efforts were made to get the Constitution extended to these Territories by act of Congress; failing in these attempts, the difficulty was leaped over by boldly assuming that the Constitution went of itself—that is to say, the slavery part of it.

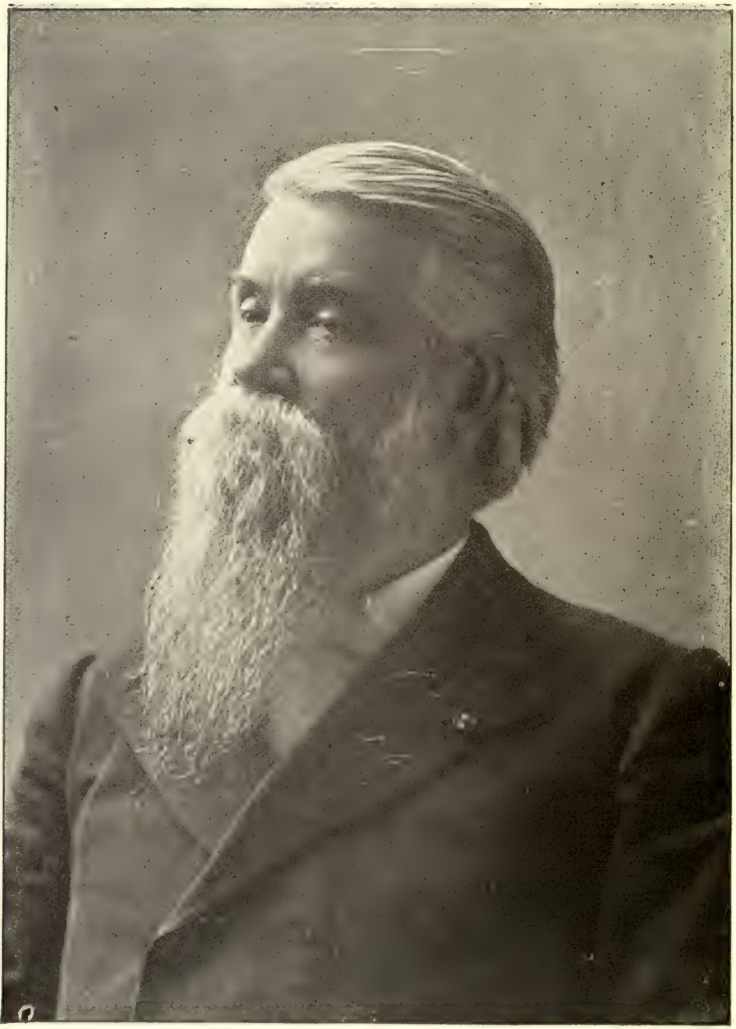
History can not class higher as a vagary of a diseased imagination this imputed self-acting and self-extension of the Constitution. The Constitution does nothing of itself—not even the States for which it was made. Every part of it requires a law to put it into operation. No part of it can reach a Territory unless imparted to it by act of Congress.

Mr. Benton is none too severe in his comments. If the Constitution had such migratory powers it would involve us in all kinds of embarrassments and weaknesses. Territory once acquired could never be parted with, because a part of the United States, no matter how undesirable it might prove. If, instead of stopping when we did in the Spanish war, we had gone on and taken Spain itself, it would have been no longer Spain, if we had concluded to hold it, but the United States,

JACOB H. GALLINGER.

Jacob H. Gallinger, Republican, of Concord, N. H., is of Dutch ancestry, his paternal great-grandfather having emigrated from Holland previous to the Revolutionary war, first settling in New York, where his grandfather was born, and afterwards going to Canada; his mother (Catherine Cook) was of American stock; was born on a farm in Cornwall, Ontario, March 28, 1837; received a common school and academic education; was a printer in early life; studied medicine and was graduated in 1858, and followed the profession of medicine and surgery in the city of his present residence from April, 1862, until he entered public life, having a practice which extended beyond the limits of his State; was connected with various medical societies, and made frequent contributions to medical literature; was a member of the House of Representaties of New Hampshire in 1872-73 and 1891; was a member of the constitutional convention in 1876; was a member of the State Senate in 1878, 1879 and 1880, being president of that body the last two years; was surgeon-general of New Hampshire with the rank of brigadier-general in 1879-80; received the honorary degree of A. M. from Dartmouth College; was the chairman of the Republican State Committee from 1882 to 1890, when he resigned the place, but was again elected to the position in 1898; was chairman of the delegation from his State to the Republican National Convention of 1888, and made a speech seconding the nomination of Benjamin Harrison; was elected to the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses, and declined renomination to the Fifty-first Congress; was elected United States Senator to succeed Henry W. Blair, and took his seat March 4, 1891, and was re-elected in 1897. His term of service will expire March 3, 1903. Mr. Gallinger has acquitted himself with satisfaction to soldiers and the public at large in the responsible position of chairman of the Senate Committee on Pensions, and as a member of the committees on Commerce, To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, District of Columbia, Public Health and National Quarantine, and Pacific Islands.

JACOB H. GALLINGER.



CHARLES HENRY GROSVENOR.

CHARLES HENRY GROSVENOR.

Charles Henry Grosvenor, Republican, of Athens, Ohio, was born at Pomfret, Windham County, Conn., September 20, 1833; his grandfather was Col. Thomas Grosvenor, of the Second Connecticut Regiment in the Revolution, and his father was Maj. Peter Grosvenor, who served in the Tenth Connecticut Regiment in the war of 1812; his father carried him from Connecticut to Ohio in May, 1838, but there was no school house near where he settled until he was 14 years old, when he attended a few terms in a country log school house in Athens County, Ohio; taught school and studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1857; was chairman of the executive committee of the Ohio State Bar Association from its organization for many years; served in the Union Army, in the Eighteenth Ohio Volunteers, from July, 1861, to November, 1865; was major, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, and brevet brigadier general of volunteers, commanding a brigade at the battle of Nashville, in December, 1864; has held divers township and village offices; was a member of the State House of Representatives of Ohio, 1874-1878, serving as speaker of the house two years; was Presidential elector for the Fifteenth District of Ohio in 1872, and was chosen to carry the electoral vote of the State to Washington; was Presidential elector at large in 1880; was a member of the board of trustees of the Ohio Soldiers and Sailors' Orphans' Home, at Xenia, from April, 1880, till 1888, and president of the board for five years; was elected to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth, and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, receiving 19,806 votes, to 16,434 for C. E. Peoples, Democrat, and 17 for G. W. Dillison, Union Reform. Mr. Grosvenor ranks among the ablest debaters and keenest logicians of the House, and has distinguished himself as a member of the important committee of Ways and Means, as well as chairman of the committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and as member of the committee on Rules.

to be governed according to our Constitution, no matter how inapplicable and unsuited to that people its provisions might be.

If we should discover a new country, the mere act of planting the flag and taking possession would make it a part of the United States, to be governed by the Constitution, no matter how unfit its inhabitants for such government.

You have only to pursue the subject to multiply absurd consequences. The truth is, our fathers intended, in all matters, and particularly in so vital a matter as the acquisition and government of territory, that our Government should have complete sovereign power—should be the full equal in power of any other sovereign power on earth.

They so declared in the Declaration of Independence when they proclaimed that "These United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, * * * and as free and independent States they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do."

Such was their declared purpose, and the Constitution gave effect to that purpose by conferring on the National Government the power to declare war, conclude peace, make treaties, and make all needful rules for the government and disposition of territory belonging to the United States.

Pursuant to these powers, and in the exercise of them, we had war with Spain. We were successful. We invaded and captured her territory. We concluded peace, and, as one of the conditions, exacted a cession to the United States of Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam. All came to us by the same title. All stand in the same legal relation, unaffected by the fact that some came willingly and others resisting our authority.

Therefore it follows if Porto Rico is a part of the United States, so are the Philippines. If the Constitution is in effect in Porto Rico as a result of mere acquisition, so is it in the Philippines. If duties, imposts, and excises must be uniform in Porto Rico as compared with theUnited States, so must they be in the Philippines. If the Porto Ricans are citizens of the United States, so are the Tagalos, the Sulus, the Igorrotes, the Negritos, and all the other numerous tribes and peoples of the archipelago.

If we can not protect coffee in Porto Rico, we can not protect hemp, sugar, tobacco, or anything else in the Philippines. If we can not exempt Porto Rico from internal-revenue taxes, we must compel their payment in Luzon and Mindanao. If we can not levy tariff duties on goods going into Porto Rico from the United States, we can not levy them on goods going from here into the Philippines. If we can not tax goods coming from Porto Rico into the United States, we can not tax goods coming here from the Philippines. Whatever we can or can not do in the one case is and must be the measure of our power in the other.

The legislation that has been enacted for Porto Rico raises all these questions, and it is fortunate that it does, for sooner or later, and the sooner the better, they must find their way to the Supreme Court of the United States, and where alone, they can be authoritatively settled. I have my opinion as to what the court must hold, but others have a contrary opinion, and they have so read and interpreted the authorities as to support their views.

For two years and more we have been arguing these questions and discussing the decisions bearing upon them without other apparent effect than to confirm differences.

Party lines have now been drawn with respect to them, and the one view or the other will prevail, so far as the political department of the Government is concerned, accordingly as the one party or the other party is in power.

This will continue until the only tribunal that can settle it in a way binding upon all has spoken. The consequences are so momentous and so far-reaching as to make it highly important that we have this settlement at the earliest convenience. We have reached the point in the development of our resources and the multiplication of our industries where we are not only supplying our home demands, but are producing a large surplus, constantly growing larger. Our greatest present and prospective commercial need is for markets abroad. We can not find them in the countries of Europe. Their demand upon us is limited. They strive to supply themselves and to compete with us in the markets of the world. Our opportunity (and theirs also) is in the Far East. In China, Japan, Korea, the Straits Settlements, Australasia, and Oceania there are from 600,000,000 to 800,000,000 people with whom the rest of the world has just begun to trade.

Our competitors recognize that this commerce, now only fairly begun, will grow rapidly to hundreds, and then on to thousands of millions annually. Russia, Germany, France, and England are all striving to secure their full share, and only recently there were indications that some of these nations were not only willing but intending to take it all. It seemed as though the door was to be closed against us, but now it has been happily settled otherwise.

It was never expected that our Democratic friends would be able to both understand and appreciate it, but certainly all Republicans ought to be able to see the necessity and the wisdom of what has been done, and that, instead of having been discriminated against, the Porto Ricans have been favored in the matter of taxation with the most liberal and general provisions that have ever been made for anybody by our Government, while at the same time our own interests have been protected against all possible contingencies.

In every respect this legislation is commendable. Some of the opposition newspapers have been claiming that the civil government provided for concentrates too much power in the hands of the President. I do not remember that any Democratic Senator made any such criticism. On the contrary, they very generally approved the bill in that respect; but without regard to that fact, the truth is that, by comparison, it will be seen that the civil government provided for Porto Rico is far more liberal than were any of the early Territorial governments established for our own people, and quite as liberal as our responsibilities will allow.

The first Territorial government established after the adoption of the Constitution was for Louisana, and in that case all executive, legislative and judicial power was lodged in the appointees of the President, who was made absolute autocratic.

That was under Thomas Jefferson, who was certainly thoroughly Democratic. The same was true of the Territorial governments of Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Missouri, and others, on down until the days of Republicanism.

The people were not allowed to choose any of their officials under these Territorial governments. It has been only in later years, and under Republican rule and legislation, that they have been allowed a partial participation in the conduct of their governments. Even to-day in our Territories, inhabited by our own people, familiar with our own institutions and the spirit of our laws, and accustomed to governing and capable of doing so, the President appoints the governors and the judges and all the principal officials.

In Porto Rico we allow the people to elect the lower house of the legislature and give them representation by appointment in the upper house and in all other departments of their government.

The provision that the upper house of their legislative assembly shall be appointed by the President is due to the fact that among its members are the bureau officers, upon whom will devolve the responsible duty of organizing all the departments of that government, and upon whom we must rely to make that government as nearly American as possible.

In no other way could we safely proceed to secure the necessary ability and experience for such work.

Like everything else the Republican party undertakes, we propose to make of this a success—a success for Porto Rico and a success for the United States—and when that has been done we shall only be too glad to increase the participation of the Porto Ricans in the conduct of their government as rapidly as they are found equal to its demands, and nobody will be happier than we when we can give over the whole matter to themselves. I hope and believe that the day is not far distant, but it would not be kindness to Porto Rico to do that now.

They have in that island about 1,000,000 people. Of this whole number only about fifteen per cent. can read or write in any language. Only about the same number own any property. This means that there are in that little parallelogram of the sea, about 100 miles in length and 35 miles in width, fully 800,000 men, women and children who are absolutely illiterate and who are as dependent as poverty can make them. None of them have had any experience in governing themselves, and very few have any conception of what is meant by free popular government according to our ideas and institutions.

They are of the Latin race, and are of quick and excitable temper, but they are at the same time patient, docile, frugal, and most of them industrious. The children show great aptness and ambition to acquire an education and to learn our language, and all seem anxious to learn our ways and to qualify themselves for the higher and better conditions that await them.

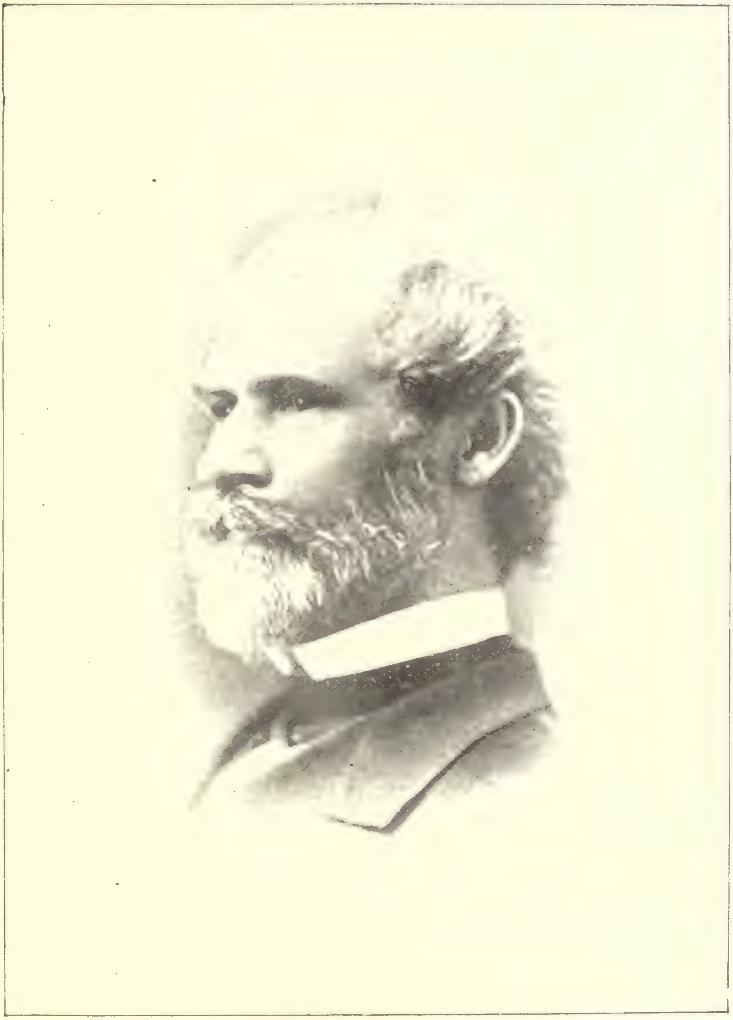
They have never known what it is to have schoolhouses and public instruction. They are almost entirely without highways. Their island has never been developed or improved, but we have made provisions under which, during the next twelve months, there will be erected in Porto Rico more schoolhouses than were constructed by Spain during all the four hundred years of her rule, and more roads and bridges and public improvements will be under construction in six months from this time than even the Porto Ricans themselves ever contemplated or desired.

This is the beginning of a new era. It has taken time to provide this machinery, and will take two or three months to set it fully in operation, but the start, when made, will be a sure one, to be followed by the quickenings of a new life, with new and manifold opportunities for peace, happiness, and prosperity far exceeding any hopes that have been excited or any anticipations that have been entertained.

When General Miles landed in that island, at the head of our gallant and victorious army, he made proclamation that he had come not as an enemy, but as a friend, and that the United States would restore to them prosperity and give them the benefits of our liberal institutions of government. The

GALUSHA A. GROW.

Galusha A. Grow, Republican, of Glenwood, Susquehanna County, Pa., was born in Ashford (now Eastford), Windham County, Conn., August 31, 1823; his father died when he was 3 years old; his mother, with her six children, removed to Susquehanna County, Pa., in May, 1834; worked on a farm summers and went to the common school winters until the summer of 1837, when he began a regular course of study at Franklin Academy, Susquehanna County, and entered the freshman class, Amherst College, September, 1840; graduated July, 1844; was admitted to the bar of Susquehanna County, April 19, 1847; declined a unanimous nomination for the legislature in August, 1850; was elected to Congress the following October, succeeding David Wilmot; was elected from the same district six consecutive terms, once by a unanimous vote; was defeated in a new district, composed of Susquehanna and Luzerne counties, in 1862; was elected the first three times as a Free Soil Democrat, the last three as a Republican; entered Congress in December, 1851, being the youngest member of that Congress; was elected speaker of the Thirty-seventh Congress July 4, 1861; was a delegate to the National Republican Conventions of 1864, 1884 and 1892; was chairman of the Pennsylvania State Republican Committee in 1868; from 1871 to 1876 was president of the International and Great Northern Railroad Company of Texas; in the fall of 1879 declined the mission to Russia, tendered by President Hayes; February 20,1894, was elected Congressman at Large; was re-elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress by a plurality of 246,462, and a majority over all of 204,715; was re-elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, receiving 711,246 votes, to 413,800 votes for De Witt C. De Witt, Democrat. His plurality over De Witt, Democrat, was 297,446; majority over all, 269,778, which was the largest ever given in any State of the Union to any candidiate for any office; was re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, receiving 532,898 votes, to 350,213 for Franklin P. Iams, Democrat.



GALUSHA A. GROW.

EUGENE HALE.

EUGENE HALE.

Eugene Hale, Republican, of Ellsworth, Maine, was born at Turner, Oxford County, Me., June 9, 1836; received an academic education; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1857, and commenced practice at the age of 20; was for nine successive years county attorney for Hancock County; was a member of the legislature of Maine in 1867, 1868 and 1880; was elected to the Forty-first, Forty-second, and Forty-third Congresses; was appointed Postmaster-General by President Grant in 1874, but declined; was re-elected to the Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses; was tendered a Cabinet appointment, as Secretary of the Navy, by President Hayes, and declined; was chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee for the Forty-fifth Congress; received the degree of LL. D. from Bates College, from Colby University, and from Bowdoin College; was a delegate to the Cincinnati Convention in 1876 and the Chicago Conventions in 1868 and 1880; was elected to the United States Senate, to succeed Hannibal Hamlin, Republican (who declined a re-election), and took his seat March 4, 1881; was re-elected in 1887, 1893, and in 1899. His term of service will expire March 3, 1905. In the Fifty-sixth Congress, Senator Hale added to his distinguished duties on the floor, those of the chairmanship of the very important committee on Naval Affairs, and membership of the committees on Appropriations, Census, Centennial of the Establishment of the Seat of Government in Washington, Relations with Canada, Private Land Claims, and Philippine Islands.

inevitable results of the legislation that has been enacted will constitute a complete redemption of all these promises, and a triumphant vindication of the capacity of the Republican party for that constructive statesmanship so essential to the safe guidance of the Republic in its onward course of expanding growth and power.

J. B. Foraker.

OUR PHILIPPINE POLICY.

THE arguments for and against expansion, or the retention of our insular conquests from Spain, grew wider and more intense when addressed to the incidental question of their direction and government. This is but natural and right, once the fact of their acquisition is no longer a question. In this connection it is interesting to note that the party upon whose shoulders rests the responsibility of developing a policy and framing a government for the Philippines refuses to be driven into hasty and ill-considered action. Again, it is noticeable that the arguments used against the adoption of a definite policy and in criticism of a practical form of government are, to a large extent, those applicable to a denial of the right to either possess or rule the islands. This is particularly true of the oft repeated and strenuously asserted argument that no right to govern can be sustained except with the consent of the governed.

Once more, it is remarkable how squarely the arguments against expansion are met by the traditions of our country and the historic facts relating to its territorial acquisitions and growth. But these aside, the gist and marrow of controversy lies in the politico-ethical question of rule and righteousness, supplemented by duty as in justice to ourselves, our subjects and our obligations under the laws of nations and civilization. Were the problem one of territorial government or ethnical association such as we have had to meet at home, precedents would prove of value, and new steps would involve no peril. But the Filipinos are a strange, unaffiiliated, untutored people who, in themselves, must be thoroughly studied, and if possible, understood, as the basis of that harmony and upbuilding which the extension of our institutions to them ought to insure. And that study and understanding does not presuppose the entire and immediate fitness of our institutions for them. On the contrary, it presupposes, nay, demands, such modification of them as will make them adjustable and satisfactory till a period of schooling is gone through with and an entire population is graduated into acceptable citizenship. In these aspects, the questions upon which a proper Philippine policy turn become too grave and profound for mere partizan consideration or party advantage. They ought to be treated for the good of every person and thing concerned—our country, our people, the Philippines, their people, one flag, a blessed and harmonious destiny.

In the very nature of things, the discussion of a proper civic government for the Philippine archipelago must be prolonged, for the whole situation there is as yet unripe and chaotic. Even if it be accepted that the native armies have been defeated and scattered, brigandage and petty rebellions will exist for some time, and so long as they do exist, it would seem unwise, if not impossible, to withdraw military control. Many statesmen who have made the people of the Orient a study, and especially the Malay races, are firm in the conviction that every conciliatory attitude assumed toward them will only be construed as an evidence of weakness, and that the only government for them which will ever prove effective is one in which a strong show of force inspires a wholesome degree of fear. This conviction is sustained by knowledge now emanating from every point in the Philippines where our soldiers are supreme, and where attempts are being made to pacify and encourage the natives by giving to them local institutions of their own choice. If this conviction should become a general and final one, it is apparent that haste in substituting a civil for a military government ought not to be strenuously insisted upon, since, through military rule alone could the requisite show of force be exemplified. But, as before remarked, the entire situation is thronged with problems whose gravity demands the widest study and wisest statesmanship—without those complications which follow the seeking of partisan advantages.

PHILIPPINE RETENTION AND RULE.

By HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
U. S. Senator, Massachusetts.

NEGOTIATIONS, concessions, promises and hesitations are to the Asiatic mind merely proofs of weakness, and tend only to encourage useless outbreaks, crimes, and disorders. A firm attitude, at once just and fearless, impresses such people with a sense of strength and will calm them, give them a feeling of security, and tend to bring about peace and good order.

The pending bill conveys this impression, states the present position of the United States and nothing more. The operative and essential part of it is in the very words of the act by which Congress authorized Jefferson to govern Louisiana and which received his approbation and signature. It was also used by Congress and by President Monroe in 1819 in regard to Florida.

The questions involved in the future management of these islands and in our policy in the far East are of a nature to demand the highest and the most sagacious statesmanship. The Philippines should be an American question, not the sport of parties or the subject of party creeds. The responsibility for them rests upon the American people, not upon the Democratic or Republican party. If we fail in dealing with them we shall all alike suffer from the failure, and if we succeed the honor and the profit will redound in the end to the glory and the benefit of all. This view no doubt seems visionary. It certainly ought not to be so, and in time I believe it will be accepted. Unfortunately it is not the case to-day .

One of the great political parties of the country has seen fit to make what is called "an issue" of the Philippines. They have no alternative policy to propose which does not fall to pieces as soon as it is stated. A large and important part of their membership, North and South, is heartily in favor of expansion, because they are American, and have not only patriotism but an intelligent perception of their own interests. They are the traditional party of expansion, the party which first went beyond seas and tried to annex Hawaii, which plotted for years to annex Cuba, which have in our past acquisitions of territory their one great and enduring monument. In their new wanderings they have developed a highly commendable, if somewhat hysterical, tenderness for the rights of men with dark skins, dwelling in the islands of the Pacific, in pleasant contrast to the harsh indifference which they have always manifested toward those American citizens who "wear the shadowed livery of the burnished sun" within the boundaries of the United States. The Democratic party has for years been the advocate of free trade and increased exports, but now they shudder at our gaining control of the Pacific and developing our commerce with the East. Ready in their opposition to protection, to open our markets to the free competition of all the tropical, all the cheapest, labor of the world, they are filled with horror at the thought of admitting to our markets that small fragment of the world's cheap labor contained in the Philippine Islands, something which neither Republicans nor anyone else think for one moment of doing.

Before explaining our policy I should be glad, as a preliminary, to state the policy proposed by our opponents, so that I could contrast our own with it, but I have thus far been unable to discover what their policy is. No doubt it exists,

EDWARD LA RUE HAMILTON.

Edward La Rue Hamilton was born in Niles Township, Berrien County, Michigan, December 9, 1857. His early education was that of the common schools of the township, and was afterwards supplemented by that of the higher institutions of Niles, the county seat. Here he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1884. He soon gained distinction in his profession and attained a lucrative practice. He also had a rapid rise in the councils of the Republican party, and was elected a member of the Fifty-fifth Congress for the Fourth Michigan District. He was re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress in 1898, receiving 21,740 votes, to 17,146 for Roman I. Jarvis, Democrat, 321 for John K. Cumming, Populist, and 474 for George F. Cummings, Prohibitionist. He took rank in the House as one of its able, industrious and conscientious members, who gave to important measures thorough and deserved study, and who appeared in debate only with the fullest mental equipment. To distinction acquired on the floor of the House in support of legislation advocated by his party and sanctioned by the administration, he added that of an active and forceful member of the committees on Elections, No. 1, and of the committees on Territories, Ventilation and Acoustics, and Enrolled Bills.

EDWARD LA RUE HAMILTON.

MARCUS ALONZO HANNA.

MARCUS ALONZO HANNA.

Marcus Alonzo Hanna was born in New Lisbon, Columbiana County, Ohio, September 24, 1837. He removed with his father's family to Cleveland in 1852; was educated in the common schools of that city and the Western Reserve College,, Hudson, Ohio; was engaged as an employee in the wholesale grocery house of Hanna, Garretson & Co., his father being senior member of the firm; his father died in 1862 and he represented that interest in the firm until 1867, when the business was closed up; then became a member of the firm of Rhodes & Co., engaged in the iron and coal business; at the expiration of ten years the title of this firm was changed to M. A. Hanna & Co., which still exists; has been identified with lake carrying business, being interested in vessels on the lakes, and in the construction of such vessels; is president of the Union National Bank of Cleveland; president of the Cleveland City Railway Company; was director of the Union Pacific Railway Company in 1885, by appointment of President Cleveland; was a delegate to the National Republican Conventions in 1884, 1888, and 1896; was elected chairman of the National Republican Committee in 1896, and still holds that position; was appointed to the United States Senate by Governor Bushnell, March 5, 1897, to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of Hon. John Sherman, who resigned to accept the position of Secretary of State in President McKinley's Cabinet; took his seat March 5, 1897; in January, 1898, he was elected for the short term ending March 4, 1899, and also for the succeeding full term. His term of service will end March 4, 1905. Mr. Hanna occupies one of the highest places in the councils of his party, and is conspicuous for those sturdy qualities which add pith and vitality to decisions and methods. He would eliminate all idle theories from platforms and all indirectness from political management, and introduce into creed, discipline, attack and parry only the simple, hard, sterling facts and features of deliberate business. As a public spokesman he has not made claim upon nor resort to conventional oratory, yet has proved one of the most logical and convincing of controversialists.

no doubt it is beautiful, but, like many beautiful things, it seems to the average searcher after truth both diaphanous and elusive. We have had presented to us, it is true, the policy desired by Aguinaldo and his followers, that we should acknowledge him as a government, enforce his rule upon the other eighty-three tribes and upon all the other islands, and then protect him from foreign interference. This plan, which would involve us in endless wars with the natives and keep us embroiled with other nations, loads us with responsibility without power and falls into ruin and absurdity the moment it is stated. Another proposition is that we should treat the Philippines as we treat Cuba. That is precisely what we are doing. But what is really meant by this demand is not that we should treat the Philippines as we treat Cuba, but that we should make to them a promise as to the future. And that is what every proposition made by those opposed to the Republican party comes down to, a promise as to the future. We are to put down insurrection and disorder and hold the islands temporarily, without the consent of the governed, but simultaneously we are to make large promises as to the future which will look well in print and keep insurrection and disorder alive.

The policy we offer, on the other hand, is simple and straightforward. We believe in the frank acceptance of existing facts, and in dealing with them as they are and not on a theory of what they might or ought to be. We accept the fact that the Philippine Islands are ours to-day and that we are responsible for them before the world. The next fact is that there is a war in those islands, which, with its chief in hiding, and no semblance of a government, has now degenerated into a mere guerrilla fighting and brigandage, with a precarious existence predicated on the November elections.

Our immediate duty, therefore, is to suppress this disorder, put an end to fighting, and restore peace and order. That is what we are doing. That is all we are called upon to do in order to meet the demands of the living present. Beyond this we ought not to go by a legislative act, except to make such provision that there may be no delay in re-establishing civil government when the war ends. The question of our constitutional right and power to govern those islands in any way we please I shall not discuss. Not only is it still in the future, but if authority is lacking, the Constitution can be amended. Personally I have no doubt that our Constitution gives full right and authority to hold and govern the Philippines without making them either economically or politically part of our system, neither of which they should ever be. When our great Chief Justice, John Marshall—"magnum et venerabile nomen"—declared in the Cherokee case that the United States could have under its control, exercised by treaty or the laws of Congress, a "domestic and dependent nation," I think he solved the question of our constitutional relations to the Philippines.

I hope and believe that we shall retain the islands, and that, peace and order once restored, we shall and should re-establish civil government, beginning with the towns and villages, where the inhabitants are able to manage their own affairs. We should give them honest administration and prompt and efficient courts. We should see to it that there is entire protection to persons and property, in order to encourage the development of the islands by the assurance of safety to investors of capital. All men should be protected in the free exercise of their religion, and the doors thrown open to missionaries of all Christian sects. The land, which belongs to the people, and of which they have been robbed in the past, should be returned to them and their title made secure. We should inaugurate and carry forward in the most earnest and liberal way, a comprehensive system of popular education. Finally, while we bring prosperity to the islands by developing their resources, we should, as rapidly as conditions will permit, bestow upon them self-government and home rule. Such, in outline, is the policy which I believe can be and will be pursued toward the Philippines. It will require time, patience, honesty, and ability for its completion, but it is thorougly practicable and reasonable.

The foundation of it all is the retention of the islands by the United States, and it is to that question that I desire to address myself. I shall not argue our title to the islands by the law of nations, for it is perfect. No other nation has ever questioned it. It is too plain a proposition to warrant the waste of time and words upon it. Equally plain is our right under the Constitution, by a treaty which is the supreme law of the land, to hold those islands. The opposition to the Republican policy rests its weight on grounds widely different from these. They assert that on moral grounds we have no right to take or retain the Philippines, and that as a matter of expediency our whole Eastern policy is a costly mistake. I traverse both assertions. I deny both propositions. I believe we are in the Philippines as righteously as we are there rightfully and legally. I believe that to abandon the islands, or to leave them now, would be a wrong to humanity, a dereliction of duty, a base betrayal of the Filipinos who have supported us, led by the best men of Luzon, and in the highest degree contrary to sound morals. As to expediency, the arguments in favor of the retention of the Philippines seem to me so overwhelming that I should regard their loss as a calamity to our trade and commerce and to all our business interests so great that no man can measure it. Let me take these propositions in their order, beginning with the question of right and wrong, of morals and duty, involved in our action.

Our opponents put forward as their chief objection that we have robbed these people of their liberty and have taken them and hold them in defiance of the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence in regard to the consent of the governed. As to liberty they have never had it, and have none now, except when we give it to them protected by the flag and the armies of the United States. Their insurrection against Spain, confined to one island, had been utterly abortive and could never have revived or been successful while Spain controlled the sea. We have given them all the liberty they ever had. We could not have robbed them of it, for they had none to lose.

The second objection as to the consent of the governed requires more careful examination, because of the persistency with which it has been made the subject of heated declamation. It has been stated over and over again that we have done great wrong in taking these islands without the consent of the governed, from which, according to American principles, all just government derives its powers. The consent of the governed! It is a fair phrase and runs trippingly upon the tongue, but I have observed a great lack of definite meaning in those who use it most. What do we mean by the "consent of the governed?" We quote it from the Declaration of Independence. What did Jefferson mean by the phrase? Some persons say he meant the consent of all the governed. Others that he meant the consent of some of the governed. Sentiment seems to be with the former amendment to Jefferson's language; the facts appear to be with the latter. But neither "all" nor "some" are in Jefferson's famous sentence. Nor is there any indication of how the consent is to be obtained or expressed, although the present especial guardians of the Declaration seem to assume that it must be by a vote.

The truth is that those were the days of Rousseau and his theories, and the doctrines of the social compact were strong in their influence upon all the political thought of the time. We can trace, I think, Jefferson's aphorism to this source. What Jefferson really did—with Rousseau and the theory of the social compact in mind—was to put in the form of a large generalization the principle for which the colonies engaged in the Revolution, which was that they were not to be taxed without representation and without their consent. He was not drafting a law or a constitution providing for all contingencies and setting up all sorts of limitations. If he had done that no one would have heeded his declaration at the moment much less read and repeated it since. Jefferson was saying to all the world what the American people, whom he represented felt and what he himself believed. To do this he set forth a series of general principles in broad and brilliant terms, so that the whole world listened then, and the American people have repeated his sentences from that day to this. He would have been the first to deny the narrow, rigid interpretation which, in the exigencies of debate, men have sought to place upon his words. But we are not at a loss to know what Jefferson himself thought. He was the greatest expansionist in our history. He acquired a vast territory for the United States in 1803. Did he ask the consent of the 30,000 white men at the mouth of the Mississippi, or of the Indians roaming over the wide expanses of the Louisiana Purchase? Such an idea never occurred to him for one moment. He took Louisiana without the consent of the governed, and he ruled it without the consent of the governed. It was not a question then of "all" or "some." He never asked the consent of any of the governed, either to take the territory or to rule it afterwards.

A few years more passed, and, in 1819, we bought Florida from Spain without the consent of the governed, and this crime against the Declaration of Independence was perpetrated by John Quincy Adams and James Monroe. Moreover, Congress placed in the hands of President Monroe, the principal criminal, power to govern this new territory absolutely, in the very terms employed by a previous Congress when they conferred a like authority upon Thomas Jefferson.

The next case is Texas. There we had technically the consent of the governed, but it so happened that those who ruled Texas were Americans. They had gone into that region, settled the country, and conquered it in war from Mexico. Having done that, they decided to rejoin their own country, bringing their conquered territory with them.

Then came the Mexican war, and by the treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo, we received a great cession of territory from Mexico, including all the California coast; and although we paid Mexico twenty millions as indemnity I think it has been held that the cession was one of conquest. There were many Mexicans living within the ceded territory. We never asked their consent. I need not dwell upon the Gadsden purchase which followed in 1852, except to say that under its provisions we bought territory with the people on it from Mexico, and nobody was consulted except the Governments of Mexico and of the United States.

The consent of the governed appears next in a question which involved, not the expansion of the United States, but the retention of a large part of its existing domain. In 1861

WILLIAM A. HARRIS.

William A. Harris, Populist, of Linwood, Leavenworth County, Kan., was born in Loudon County, Va., October 29, 1841, his home being in Luray, Va., where he attended school; graduated at Columbian College, Washington, D. C., in 1859, and at the Virginia Military Institute in 1861; served three years in the Confederate army as assistant adjutant-general of Wilcox's brigade and ordnance officer of D. H. Hill's and Rhodes's divisions, Army of Northern Virginia; removed to Kansas in 1865 and was employed as civil engineer in the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad, Kansas Division, for three years; in 1868 accepted the agency for the sale of the Delaware Reservation and other lands, in connection with farming and stock raising; since 1876 has been a farmer and breeder of pure-bred shorthorn cattle; was elected to the Fifty-third Congress, at large, as a Populist, and indorsed by the Democrats; was renominated for the Fifty-fourth Congress, but was defeated at the election; elected to the State Senate November, 1896, and was elected in January, 1897, to the United States Senate and took his seat March 4, 1897. His term of service will expire March 3, 1903. Mr. Harris was among the earliest of those who severed old party connections and espoused the cause of Populism as one sufficiently deep and momentous to become the basis of a new party. Its successful organization and the many victories it has scored in the State he represents may be largely ascribed to his earnestness, popularity and ability as a leader. He has rendered intelligent service as a member of the committees on Agriculture and Forestry, Civil Service Retrenchment, Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, Manufactures, Military Affairs, Pacific Railroads, and Privileges and Elections.

WILLIAM A. HARRIS.

JOSEPH ROSWELL HAWLEY.

JOSEPH ROSWELL HAWLEY.

Joseph Roswell Hawley, Republican, of Hartford, Conn., was born at Stewartsville, Richmond County, N. C., October 31, 1826; graduated at Hamilton College, New York, in 1847; was admitted to the bar in 1850 at Hartford, Conn., where he has since resided; practiced law six and half years; became editor of the Hartford Evening Press in February, 1857, which, in 1867, was consolidated with the Hartford Courant, of which he became editor; enlisted in the Union army as a captain April 18, 1861; became brigadier and brevet major-general; mustered out January 15, 1866; was elected Governor of Connecticut in April, 1866; was a delegate to the Free Soil National Convention of 1852, Presidential elector in 1868, president of the Republican National Convention of 1868, and delegate to the Republican National Conventions of 1872, 1876, and 1880; was president of the United States Centennial Commission from its organization, in March, 1873, to the completion of the work of the Centennial Exposition; is a trustee of Hamilton College; received the degree of doctor of laws from Hamilton College, Yale University, and Trinity College; was elected in November, 1872, a Representative in the Forty-Second Congress to fill a vacancy caused by the death of J. L. Strong; was reelected to the Forty-third and Forty-sixth Congresses; was elected to the United States Senate to succeed William W. Eaton, Democrat; took his seat March 4, 1881; was re-elected in 1887, 1893, and 1899. His term of service will expire March 3, 1905. General Hawley's distinguished army career gave him special equipment for the extended and satisfactory service he has rendered as chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. He has served with equal satisfaction as a member of the committees on Coast Defences, Interoceanic Canals, Industrial Expositions (Select), Coast and Insular Survey, and Railroads.

eleven states of the Union decided to leave it. With the profoundest faith in the justice of their cause, with the utmost bravery and the highest military skill, they fought their battles for four long years. What was the reply of the people of the United States to the proposition of the eleven seceding States? Simply this, "You shall not go," and the people of the United States, with the profoundest faith in the justice of their cause, and with bravery and skill quite equal to that of their Southern brethren, fought for their belief for four years, and won. We forced the Southern States back into the Union, and will any one tell me that we asked the consent of the governed? I have heard it said that this was a case to which the consent of the governed could not apply, because it was rebellion against the will of the majority, which we had all agreed to obey. Even this poor quibble will not serve. The great President, one of the greatest men of the century now dying, who led his country through those awful years, and who finally laid down his life in her behalf, was elected President in 1860 by a minority of the popular vote. The existence of the Union was at stake in the civil war, and all questions about the consent of the governed went down into nothingness, as they deserved to go, in the presence of that master issue.

The next argument of the opponents of the Republican policy is that we are denying self-government to the Filipinos. Our reply is that to give independent self-government at once, as we understand it, to a people who have no just conception of it and no fitness for it, is to dower them with a curse instead of a blessing. To do this would be to entirely arrest their progress instead of advancing them on the road to the liberty and free government which we wish them to achieve and enjoy. This contention rests, of course, on the proposition that the Filipinos are not to-day in the least fitted for self-government, as we understand it. The argument on this point is, I will admit, much simplified by the admissions of our opponents.

They think that we should abandon the Philippines because they are not fit for self-government. I believe that for that very reason we should retain them and lead them along the path of freedom until they are able to be self-governing, so far, at least, as all their own affairs are concerned. I do not think the Filipinos are fit for self-government as we understand it, and I am certain that if we left them alone the result would be disastrous to them and discreditable to us. Left to themselves the islands, if history, facts and experience teach anything, would sink into a great group of Haitis and St. Domingos, with this important difference, that there would be no Monroe doctrine to prevent other nations from interfering to put an end to the ruin of the people and the conversion of a fair land into a useless and unproductive waste. The nations of Europe are not going to stand idly by and see the islands of the Philippines given over to anarchy and dictatorships of the Haitian type, while their waters swarm again with pirates whom Spain suppressed, and whom we have now the responsibility of keeping down and extinguishing. We have no right to give those islands over to anarchy, tyrannies, and piracy, and I hope we have too much self-respect to hand them over to European powers with the confession that they can restore peace and order more kindly and justly than we, and lead the inhabitants onward to a larger liberty and a more complete self-government than we can bestow upon them.

Like every great nation, we have come more than once in our history to where the road of fate divided. Thus far we have never failed to take the right path. Again are we come to the parting of the ways. Again a momentous choice is offered to us. Shall we hesitate and make, in coward fashion, what Dante calls "the great refusal?" Even now we can abandon the Monroe doctrine, we can reject the Pacific, we can shut ourselves up between our oceans, as Switzerland is inclosed among her hills, and then it would be inevitable that we should sink out from among the great powers of the world and heap up riches that some stronger and bolder people, who do not fear their fate, might gather them. Or we may follow the true laws of our being, the laws in obedience to which we have come to be what we are, and then we shall stretch out into the Pacific; we shall stand in the front rank of the world powers; we shall give to our labor and our industry new and larger opportunities; we shall prosper ourselves; we shall benefit mankind. What we have done was inevitable because it was in accordance with the laws of our being as a nation, in the defiance and disregard of which lie ruin and retreat. I do not believe that this nation was raised up for nothing. I do not believe that it is the creation of blind chance. I have faith that it has a great mission in the world—a mission of good, a mission of freedom. I believe that it can live up to that mission; therefore I want to see it step forward boldly and take its place at the head of the nations. I wish to see it master of the Pacific. I would have it fulfill what I think is its manifest destiny if it is not false to the laws which govern it. I am not dreaming of a primrose path. I know well that in the past we have committed grievous mistakes and paid for them, done wrong and made heavy compensation for it, stumbled and fallen and suffered. But we have always risen, bruised and grimed sometimes, yet still we have risen stronger and more erect than ever, and the march has always been forward and onward. Onward and forward it will still be, despite stumblings and mistakes as before, while we are true to ourselves and obedient to the laws which have ruled our past and will still govern our future. But when we begin to distrust ourselves, to shrink from our own greatness, to shiver before the responsibilities which come to us, to retreat in the face of doubts and difficulties, then indeed peril will be near at hand. I would have our great nation always able to say:

It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll,
I am the master of my fate,
I am the captain of my soul.

I have unbounded faith and pride in my country. I am proud of her past, and in that past I read her future. I do not read it in any vain or boastful temper, but with a spirit of reverence and gratitude for all that has gone, and with a very humble prayer that we may make the present and future worthy of the past, and that, in the old Latin words—

Sicut patribus sit Deus nobis.

H. C. Lodge

THE TRUE PHILIPPINE COURSE.

By HON. RICHARD R. KENNEY,
U. S. Senator, Delaware.

ARE there any who know the history of the last two years who will contend that if at the time the vote on the treaty of Paris was taken, it had been stated on the floor of the Senate that war in the Philippines was to go on and that the millions awarded to Spain was the purchase price for a people to be held in perpetual vassalage that instrument would have been ratified? I do not think there are any such.

I know that of the influences which moved Senators to vote for the treaty the most powerful were the desire to end the war and commence the work of liberty and freedom in those far islands. It was believed the intentions of our government as to the Philippines were not different from those which had been declared as to Cuba, and that the establishment of peace meant an earlier and easier solution of the Philippine problem. To continue the war conditions, fearing unjust treatment by the United States of those who had aided us in the overthrow of the Spanish arms in those islands, seemed unreasonable and without foundation; certainly so in the face of assurances made by those who should have been able to speak on the subject.

That which has occurred in the Philippines since the Senate ratified the treaty of peace is as little chargeable to that act of the Senate as it is to those who voted against ratification. The peace with Spain entailed no war with the Filipinos nor change in our country's foreign policy. The war in

Luzon may or may not have been avoided under a different policy by the administration. Certain it is there is no article in the treaty declaring war on Aguinaldo and his people, and there can be found therein no authority for the retention of the Philippines as a dependent colony, nor does the administration's purpose in this regard find warrant in that instrument. The reason for the war with the Filipinos and the imperalistic policy of the Republican Administration must be sought for outside of the treaty of Paris, for in it there will be found authority for neither.

Among these causes is the greed of those of our countrymen who set self above honor and country; and who for wealth and power will use the miseries and misfortunes of others; who for their own selfish ends are willing to re-establish slavery within the domain of this country and withold the Constitution from a part of the people. The horrors of war are to them but a means to accomplish their sordid ends. National honor and justice to the Filipino is to them of no concern so long as they are the beneficiaries of dishonor and injustice. It is here that the evils which have followed the treaty and which are so often charged to it can in part at least be found.

That the islands are territory of the United States and the inhabitants thereof citizens of this government there can be no doubt. Whether they came to us by conquest of arms or by treaty with Spain, there can be no difference. That title and possession has passed to us is beyond dispute, and with title and possession to us the Constitution has gone to them.

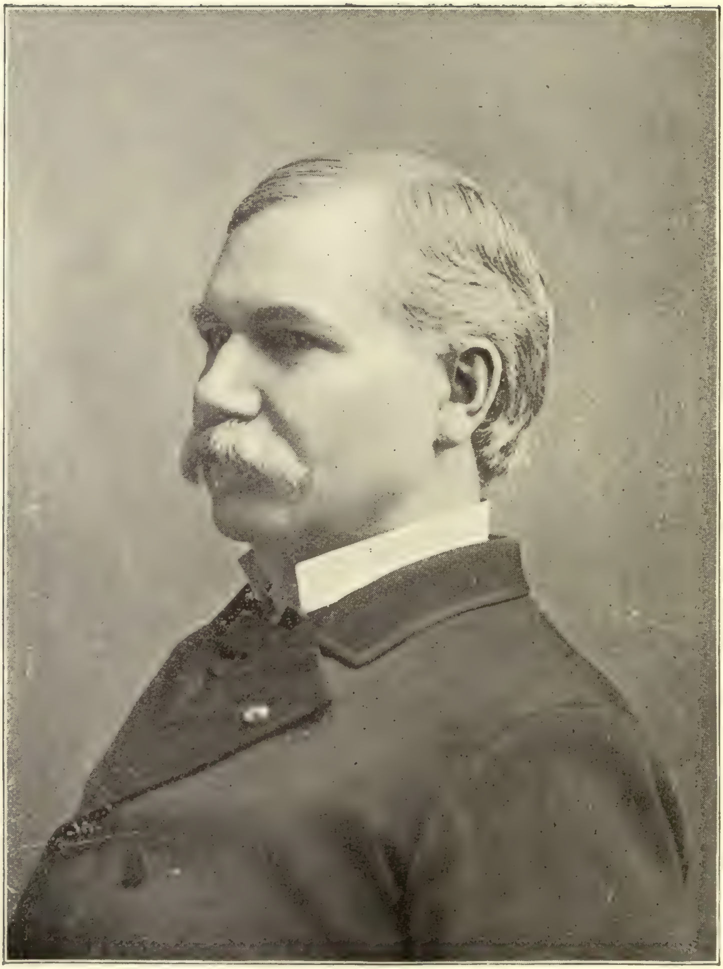
The right to acquire territory is certainly an inherent right of a nation, and to govern it necessarily follows, but its government must be by and under its constitution and laws. In case of the United States, the Constitution applies at the same

HON. JOHN HAY, Secretary of State.

John Hay, Secretary of State, was born in Salem, Ind., October 8, 1838; graduated at Brown University in 1858, and studied law in Springfield, Ill.; was admitted to practice before the supreme court of Illinois in 1861, but immediately came to Washington as assistant secretary to President Lincoln, remaining with him until his death; acted also as his adjutant and aid-de-camp, and served under Generals Hunter and Gillmore, and was brevetted colonel; was appointed secretary of legation to France March 22, 1865; retired March 18, 1867; appointed secretary of legation to Austria-Hungary May 20, 1867, where he acted as charge d'affaires until August 12, 1868; appointed secretary of legation to Spain June 28, 1869; retired October 1, 1870; then became an editorial writer on the New York Tribune, remaining five years, during seven months of which he was editor in chief; removed to Cleveland in 1875 and took an active part in the presidential canvasses of 1876, 1880, and 1884; was appointed Assistant Secretary of State November 1, 1879; retired May 3, 1881; in that year he represented the United States at the International Sanitary Congress in Washington, of which he was president; was appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Great Britain March 19, 1897; retired September 19, 1898; appointed Secretary of State September 20, 1898.

Mr. Hay's incumbency of this responsible office has covered a period of delicate and far-reaching diplomacy, two results of which have become particularly conspicuous. (1) That involved in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty executed at Washington, whose effect would be the neutralization of the Nicaragua canal. (2) The securing from the leading nations of the world written pledges of protection to American treaty rights in China, in case that empire should undergo disintegration and eventual partition among the jealous and greedy powers of Europe.

JOHN HAY.



DAVID BREMER HENDERSON

HON. DAVID B. HENDERSON.

Speaker of House of Representatives.

David Bremer Henderson, Representative, was born at Old Deer, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, March 14, 1840; son of Thomas and Barbara Bremner Henderson, grandson of Walter Henderson on father's side. He was taken to America by his parents who located on a farm in Winnebago County, Ills., in 1846. In 1849 they moved to Fayette County, Iowa, where the son was educated, attending the district schools and Upper Iowa University. He enlisted in the Union army, September 15, 1861, and was mustered into service November 5, as first lieutenant of Company C, Twelfth Iowa Infantry. He participated in the battles of Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Shiloh and Corinth, being severely wounded at Fort Donelson and losing a leg at Corinth, October 4, 1862. He reentered the army June 10, 1864, as colonel of the Forty-sixth Iowa Infantry and served until the close of the war, when he was appointed a Collector of Internal Revenue. He was admitted to the bar in 1865 and practiced in Dubuque, Iowa. He was afterwards an assistant U. S. District Attorney, and in 1882 was elected as a Republican Representative in the Forty-eighth Congress. He was re-elected to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth, Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth congresses, serving as chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary and as a member of the committees on Rules and Appropriations. Upper Iowa University has conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. He was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives December 4, 1899.

moment title and possession passes to them, and there is nor can be no part of the domain of the United States an exception wherein a different or limited citizenship exists from that of other portions of the country. There is no such warrant in that instrument.

Both Chief Justice Marshall and Chief Justice Taney agree that territory acquired by the United States becomes a part of the nation and must be governed under the Constitution, and that no power is thereby given to govern or rule as mere dependencies at the pleasure of the Federal government.

At no time in our history has there been acquired territory by the United States, except with an ultimate view of statehood, through, of course, the regular and necessary step first of Territorial probation.

In all former cases the lands acquired were a part of the North American Continent, and by nature intended as a part of one great country. In every case the territory was practically uninhabited and by climatic and other conditions suited for the uses of the people of the United States. There was no congested population such as is the case in the Philippines. There was indeed room and reason for expansion in all these former cases. The taking of none of these territories entailed shocking changes in our foreign and territorial policies, nor the burdens of great standing armies. Then we carried civilization into the uninhabited wildernesses, and prepared places for our growing population suited to their needs. Then no free and independent people were driven into mountains and their homes made waste places. No lands nor peoples were taken for other government than under the Constitution—citizenship and equal rights for all.

I hold that the title and posession of the Filipino Archipelago having been perfected in the United States, and no matter whether by treaty or by force of arms, there is left but one of two courses open to this Government as to their disposition. The one is that they be retained as a Territory, with the ultimate and certain purpose of admission as a State or States into the Union. The other, that they be given to the people of the islands themselves, to be erected into a republic as free as ours, and so under the guidance and protection of the United States.

That the first course is impossible there can be little doubt when we take into consideration the character of the people and understand the great differences which exist between them and the people of the United States. Imagination can not be invoked so wild as to contemplate an addition to our present statehood of the State of the Philippines.

All the traditions, manners, and customs of the Filipinos, their racial extraction, affiliations, and tendencies, to say nothing of their location, being separated from us by thousands of miles of ocean, have erected a barrier too high and strong to be passed in making them a State of the American Union. Notwithstanding their love for free institutions, and their enlightenment, these reasons alone must forever preclude them from membership in the Union of American States.

So, we have in honor left us but the latter course, to give the islands back into the hands of their own people, and in doing this, we must be satisfied that there is in them and their leader, Aguinaldo, fitness and ability for self-government. The proofs of this are overwhelming.

If from any point of view it should be contended that the Philippines should be held for the present as a colony no matter what may be the ultimate disposition of them, is it not a self-evident fact that such retention would entail on this nation a task far greater than any possible benefits could justify?

Assuming for the sake of the argument that this Government will hold the islands as dependent colonies and govern them by such means as the Congress and the President shall elect, would not the sacrifices which must be made by the United States be too great to warrant the attempt? Certainly so, if we are to judge the future by the past. The retention of the Philippines up to this time has cost the United States many millions of dollars and the lives of thousands of our soldiers, to say nothing of the thousands of them who, by reason of their services in the Tropics, have been made invalids for life. And worse than death itself, hundreds have lost their reason and are to-day inmates of the abodes of the mad.

In the face of these facts, who is there that will insist that these islands shall be retained on any grounds or for any reasons? Are not the burdens of our people heavy enough, and has not our experience in this matter already drawn enough of blood and tears from the American people? I think so, and for one I am ready that the end shall come and at once. To retain them as American territory on any conditions means a continuation of these sacrifices and increase of our burdens. There can never be had from them compensation equal to their cost.

There are those who would treat this question by no ordinary rules. They find new definitions and meanings for our laws. They produce strange rules for the interpretation of our Constitution. They find virtue in absolutism and see freedom where once slavery was. For commerce's sake they would obliterate the Declaration of Independence. For the imagined riches of the East, honor and justice are to be set aside. The cost and sacrifices to secure the prize are not to be counted—only the glittering of the gem is the moment's concern.

Let our dealings with these people be in justice, not only to them, but to ourselves. If there be doubt as to our agreement with them touching their independence, let them have the benefit of that doubt.

The American people are too great and free to be unjust. They are too rich and strong to be mean. Justice alone should govern us in our action with the Philippines, so that in the years to come no blush of shame shall be ours. We should now and at once say to those brave men of the Pacific, "Our war with you is not for conquest, but that peace in the islands may be restored; and so soon as peace does come, American duty and honor will be the American policy and the freedom and independence of the Philippine Islands guaranteed, if need be, for all time by American arms." Let it not be said of the American people that they who first wrested freedom from a crown and proved to the world that a people could govern themselves, in the zenith of their greatness, flushed with victory, forgot what liberty meant and the cost at which it was obtained and acted the part of a king.

Richd. R. Kenney Jr.

GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES.

By HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW,
U. S. Senator, New York.

THE wisest of the many wise orders issued during the war with Spain was that to Admiral Dewey when at Hongkong: "Find the Spanish fleet and destroy it. The destruction of that fleet ended the power of Spain in the Pacific Ocean.

By the destruction of that fleet, the landing of our troops, and the surrender of Manila the United States stood as a conqueror upon the enemy's soil. When the Spanish flag went down from the citadel and the American flag flew from its flagstaff, the three hundred years of Spanish dominion ended and the American occupation began. At this point we hear of the alleged Filipino republic and the alleged assault upon it by the United States. That Dewey, that Merritt, that Anderson, used the natives for the purpose of fighting Spain no one denies. It was within the discretion of the commanding generals to utilize the enemies of Spain in such manner as in their judgment would best cripple the enemy. When Dewey before sailing from Hongkong, sent the commander of the Petrel to Aguinaldo to secure his services, Aguinaldo refused, saying that he had sold out, had taken Spain's money, and was under obligation not to fight her any more; and it was not until after the battle of Manila that he concluded to go back on his bargain.

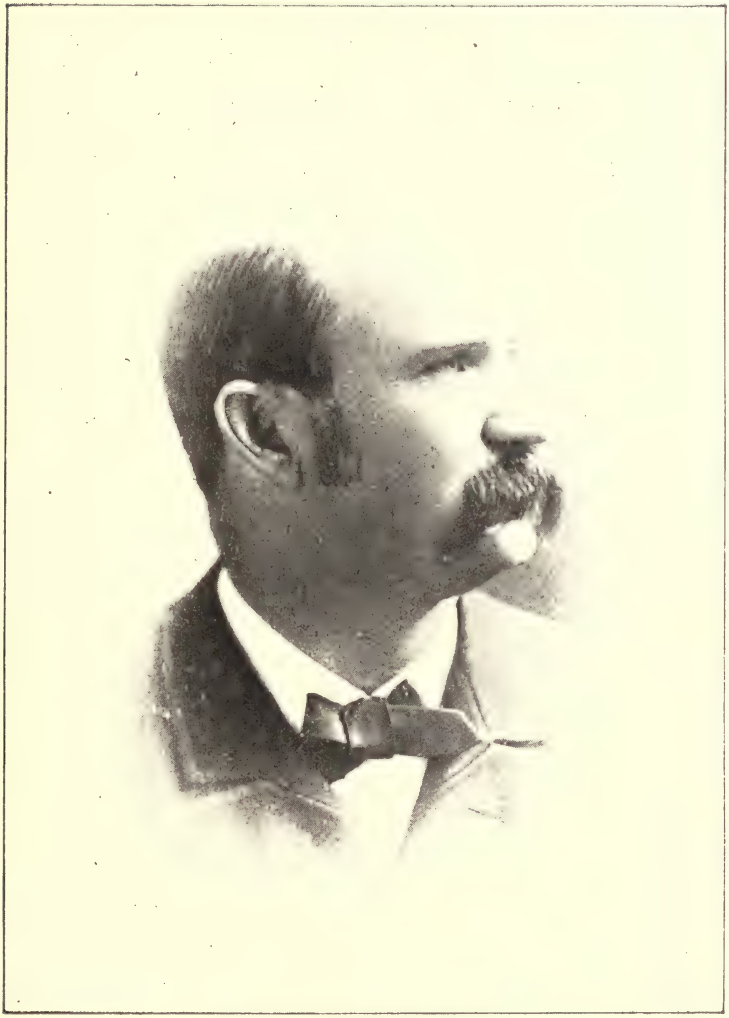
I think it will be admitted that there was in the far east no one who could bind our government to treaty obligations. There has been read here a mass of serenade speeches and banquet addresses and letters from consular agents of this country in China and the Philippines. A consul has no diplomatic authority. His commission covers only commercial questions in the port where he resides. Treaties involving recognitions of governments and cessions of territories are not made by unauthorized persons in the enthusiasm of moonlight serenades or in the fervor of banquet addresses.

Only the president of the United States could bind the country, and he only with the subsequent assent of the Senate. Only when war is progressing can the Commander in Chief of the Army or the Admiral of the Navy make a committal which the President would be bound in any form to consider or respect. Admiral Dewey alone had that power, and he most emphatically denies any committal whatever to Aguinaldo for the independence of his so-called government. President Schurman also emphatically denies any committal on the subject on the part of the Philippine Commission. The various generals of the army made no committals on their part. All the consuls concerned positively denied having made any such suggestions.

The alleged government, called here the de facto government of Aguinaldo, rests upon an equally flimsy basis. Spain had held these islands, with a slight interruption, when seized by Great Britain, for three hundred years. Her sovereignty over them had been recognized by all the powers of Europe. Her bad government produced frequent insurrections, which were always suppressed and always local to one island or to a part of an island. Aguinaldo headed one of these insurrections and formed a revolutionary government, which, however, existed only on paper and governed nothing but the camp which

DAVID BENNETT HILL.

David Bennett Hill, of Albany, was born in Havana, Schuyler (then Chemung) County, N. Y., August 29, 1843. He graduated from the Havana Academy, afterward studied law in Elmira, and was admitted to the bar in November, 1864, at the age of 21 years. Meeting with almost instant success in his profession, he was within a few months appointed city attorney. In 1871, and again in 1872, he was elected from Chemung County to the State Assembly. His rise in politics now became rapid, and he was chosen as presiding officer of the Democratic State Conventions which met in 1877 and 1881. In 1882, he was elected Mayor of Elmira on the Democratic ticket. He was president of the New York State Bar Association in 1886 and 1887. In 1882 he was elected by his party Lieutenant Governor of the State, and by virtue of his position became Governor of the State in place of Grover Cleveland, in January, 1885. In that year he was elected Governor, and was re-elected in 1888. In 1891, he was elected to the United States Senate as a Democrat in place of Hon. William M. Evarts. His term expired on March 3, 1897, when he was succeeded by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, Republican. He served ably and with distinction on the floor of the Senate, and as a member of the committees on Fisheries, Immigration, Judiciary, Expenditures of the Executive Department, Post Offices and Post Roads, and Territories. In 1896, as delegate to the Chicago National Convention, he led the opposition to Populism and Bryanism which threatened the absorption of his party. Again, in 1900, at Kansas City, he appeared as delegate whose mission was to keep the free silver issue of 16 to 1 out of the platform, but in this he was overruled by the Tammany contingent in the delegation. His name was prominently before the convention as nominee for vice-president, but he declined the honor.



DAVID BENNETT HILL.

GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR.

GEORGE F. HOAR.

George F. Hoar resides at Worcester, Massachusetts. He was born in the same state August 29, 1826. He studied law and graduated at the Dane Law School, Harvard University; settled at Worcester, where he practiced; was city solicitor in 1860; was president of the trustees of the city library; was a member of the State House of Representatives in 1852, and of the State Senate in 1857; was elected Representative to the Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congresses; declined renomination for Representative in the Forty-fifth Congress; was an overseer of Harvard College, 1874-1880; declined re-election, but re-elected in 1896; is president of the Association of the Alumni of Harvard; presided over the Masaschusetts State Republican conventions of 1871, 1877, 1882 and 1885; was a delegate to the Republican National conventions of 1876 at Cincinnati, and of 1880, 1884 and 1888 at Chicago, presiding over the convention of 1880; was chairman of the Massachusetts delegation in 1880, 1884 and 1888; was one of the managers on the part of the House of Representatives of the Belknap impeachment trial in 1876; was a member of the electoral commission in 1876; was regent of the Smithsonian Institution in 1880; has been president of and is now vice-president of the American Antiquarian Society, president of the American Historical Association, trustee of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology, trustee of Liecester Academy, is a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the American Historical Society, the Historical Genealogical Society, the Virginia Historical Society and corresponding member of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences; is a trustee of the Peabody Fund; has received the degree of doctor of laws from William and Mary, Amherst, Yale and Harvard Colleges; was elected to the United States Senate, to succeed George S. Boutwell, took his seat March 5, 1877, and was re-elected in 1883, 1889 and 1895.

he had in the mountains at Biac Na Bato. After continuing a desultory and mainly guerrilla warfare for months, he finally opened negotiations with the Spanish authorities, and sold his government to Spain for $800,000, of which $400,000 was paid down. So that at the time that Spain ceded the Philippine Islands to the United States by treaty she had as her title the sovereignty of three hundred years, and had removed the cloud upon her title by buying the claims of Aguinaldo's government. The transaction stands unique in the history of governments, if Aguinaldo's authority constituted a government. It is the first time in ancient or modern days when a power claiming sovereignty, asking for recognition from foreign states, for a valuable consideration, which was agreed to, gave a quitclaim of all its rights, its properties, and its powers. The $20,000,000 paid by the United States to Spain for the cession of her sovereignty and rights, also purchased the rights, if any, quit claimed to Spain by Aguinaldo.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila, the silencing of the guns of the forts, and the landing of an American army ended the prestige and power of Spain in the archipelago. The Filipinos, released from fear of punishment and smarting under wrongs present and hereditary, would have flocked to the standard of General Merritt as readily as they did to that of Aguinaldo, had such a course seemed best. The victorious fleet and conquering army of the United States created Aguinaldo's forces.

But for our demonstrated power appealing so dramatically to the Eastern imagination, Aguinaldo would have remained reveling in Hongkong and his followers humbly subservient to the rule of Spain. The signing of the terms of peace and the surrender of Manila to our naval and land forces occurred at the same moment of time. Dewey and Merritt refused to permit the troops of Aguinaldo to enter and loot the city, and forced them to withdraw to a safe distance. The peace treaty, guaranteeing the rights of property in the island by the United States, dissipated the hopes and dreams of the Filipino leaders of division and enjoyment of the confiscated property of the religious societies, the wealth of the church and the riches of the Spanish residents.

Then, and not until then, did Aguinaldo and his party become insurrectionists against the authority of the United States; then, inflaming an ignorant population with lies about the Government and purposes of this country, he received the support which has required a large army to suppress. This people had been cheated and robbed of their rights for centuries. They had never known the blessings of liberty and law, nor what they mean. It was easy for the rebel chiefs to make them believe that we came to plunder and oppress. We now understand why they said, "Better the Spaniard than the American." It is only when peace and order are established in the islands that we will gain both their confidence and their gratitude by a government which will guarantee law and liberty, civil and religious, and promote their progress and prosperity.

Territorially, constitutionally and by the decisions of the Supreme Court the United States have been expanding for nearly a century. Bonaparte had received the vast territory called Louisiana from Spain for a gift to a Bourbon prince of the right to rule a petty principality. He saw he could not hold his acquisition against the power of Great Britain on the ocean, and astonished the American envoys by offering to sell the entire territory. Jefferson saw immediately a meaning and a sovereignty in the Constitution, which opened his mind almost as was that of Paul on his journey to Damascus. He eagerly said, "We will," to the remark of Talleyrand, Napoleon's famous minister, "Why not take it all?" and for $15,000,000 the inhabitants, French, Spanish and Indian, and the territory, became ours.

Monroe followed Jefferson's example and in 1819 bought Florida from Spain for five millions, and Pierce, Arizona from Mexico for ten millions, while Seward secured Alaska from Russia for seven millions. Texas came in by annexation, and we claimed and Great Britain yielded Oregon to be ours by right of discovery. Mexico lay at our feet crushed and bleeding after the war, but by the treaty of peace we gave her fifteen millions for California and New Mexico, and assumed the debt of three millions five hundred thousand which she owed to American citizens. Under the same broad, generous, and wise policy of dealing with defeated enemies, in confirming the title we had by conquest to the Philippines, we have conceded to Spain for her rights and sovereignty twenty millions.

Constitutional objection and indiscriminate abuse preceded, attended and followed each of these acquisitions. The grim specter of the ruined Republic was each time dragged out from the stage properties of the spectacular drama of despair, only to be laughed back into its crypt by prosperity, population, thriving industries, mutual benefits to the old and new States, and the blessings of American law and liberty impressing the people with the wisdom of the expansion.

The United States has a domain with nearly three times greater area than it possessed when it became a nation, and stands original and alone in the beneficent processes of its growth. Its authority has been extended over new lands covering an area as large as two thirds of the Continent of Europe, at a mere trifle of the cost to Frederick the Great of the Province of Silesia, or to France of the narrow limits of Savoy. For ninety-seven years we have, in the exercise of that sovereign power which is inherent in nations, gained property by all the processes known to government, but we have waged no war for conquest or subjugation. We have treated our defeated enemies with unusual mercy and consideration. Whether our territories have come by conquest and treaty, by purchase, annexation, or discovery, the people, Congress, and the country are unanimous in the affirmation of our title. The time will be brief until by similar unanimity Porto Rico and Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines are held to be equally and sacredly territory of the United States.

Many honest minds have been confused by the supposed application of the consent of the governed to the government which Congress provides for new Territories or colonies, and that it is impossible to rule them except by the usual Territorial process until by right they are admitted into the Union as States. Here, again, a study of the past removes these difficulties. Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence, and that is the one act which he directed should be engraved upon his tomb. He certainly knew the breadth and limitations of its axioms. The government which he organized for the Territory of Louisiana had every element which has been denounced as despotism in the Philippines.

The act of October 31, 1803, passed by Congress and signed by Jefferson, vested—

All military, civil and judicial powers in such person or persons and to be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States should direct.

There was no consultation with the inhabitants, no participation in their government accorded them, and no rights assured to them except "The free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion." It is no answer to this precedent to say that because there were only 30,000 white people in the Territory it was unnecessary to gain their consent. The constitutional rights of 30,000 are as precious and as sacred as the rights of 30,000,000. From 1803, when this colonial and imperial government was imposed upon Louisiana, until 1819, when Florida was conquered, purchased and ceded by Spain, was ample time in which to discover a vital blow at the Declaration of Independence and a deadly assault upon the Constitution of the United States.

Sixteen years of legislative action, judicial examination and decision, and popular discussion had intervened since Jefferson's Arbitrary government had been imposed on Louisiana; but again, and in the same terms, did Congress, March 3, 1819, pass and President Monroe approve an act for the government of Florida vesting—

All civil, military, and judicial powers in such person or persons and to be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct.

When this pure colonial and unrepresentative government was extended over Florida that Territory was not a wilderness. It had been settled for two hundred and nine years, and, in addition to its Spanish, French and English inhabitants, had several flourishing American settlements.

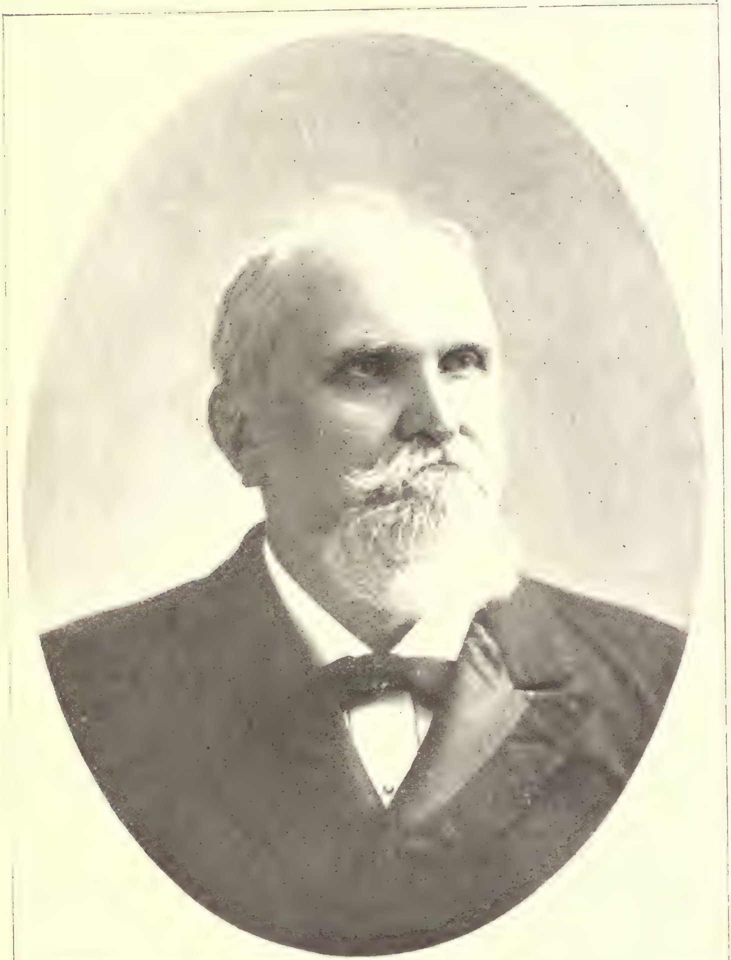
From 1798 down to 1849 the statemen and jurists whose names and fame are our most precious heritage framed governments for Mississippi, Indiana, Louisiana, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Wisconsin, Iowa, Oregon and Minnesota. Some of these Territories were within the limits of the original thirteen colonies and States, and some in our after-acquired possessions, and to all of them were extended certain specific laws of the United States; but, as if to emphasize the power of Congress in their government, the "Constitution and laws" of the United States were not extended over any of them. In still further emphasizing the power to govern, to grant and to withhold, the acts of 1850 and afterwards, establishing Territorial governments for New Mexico and Utah, departed from this unbroken line of legislation and specifically made the Constitution and laws of the United States of the same force and effect as in the United States, the language of the laws indicating that without their legislation they did not operate.

Citizen is a broad generalization. In one sense it includes all the inhabitants of every age and sex under the jurisdiction of the United States, and to all of them are guaranteed protection for life, liberty, property, and religion. In another and larger way it means those who, in addition to these rights, are entitled to the suffrage, to trial by jury, and to every privilege and protection under the Constitution and laws of the United States. The right to vote and participate in the government has been treated with singular freedom. Property qualification, or tax, or both, as a prerequisite to vote were common in all the States until 1821 and in Rhode Island until 1888.

Our friends in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, who stand shivering with fear lest the Filipinos by becoming citizens, will have the constitutional right to vote, or by being deprived of that vote will become the victims of a despotism more autocratic than Russia, say our only safety from this dilemma is to scuttle and run. They have found no difficulty, however, in excluding from the ballot a large number of their citizens. South Carolina, by the new constitution of the State, makes the requisite for voting the abili-

JAMES K. JONES.

James K. Jones, Democrat, of the town of Washington, Hempstead County, Arkansas, was born in Marshall County, Mississippi, on September 29, 1839. He received a classical education, and served as a private during the Civil War in the Confederate army. After the close of the war he retired to his plantation and remained there until 1873, when he began the practice of law. In the same year he was elected to the State Senate of Arkansas, and served during the important period of 1874 when the constitutional convention was called. After the new government was formed he was again elected to the Senate, and in 1877, was elected speaker of that body. In 1880, he was elected to the Forty-seventh Congress, and was re-elected to the Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses. In 1884, he was elected to the United States Senate, to succeed James D. Walker, and took his seat March 4, 1885. He was re-elected to the Senate in 1890 and 1897. His term will expire March 3, 1903. In the Fifty-sixth Congress he served on the Senate Committees to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, To Establish the University of the United States, Finance, Indian Affairs, Printing, and Relations with Canada. During the political campaign of 1896, he served as chairman of the National Committee of the Democratic party, and by his ability and energy contributed largely to that effective organization and immense enthusiasm which resulted in such an enormous popular vote for Mr. Bryan. He has since continued at the head of the committee, though its minor working details have fallen mostly on younger shoulders.



JAMES E. JONES.

RICHARD ROLLAND KENNEY.

RICHARD ROLLAND KENNEY.

Richard Rolland Kenney, of Dover, Del., was born in Sussex County, Del., September 9, 1856; graduated from Laurel Academy, Delaware, June, 1874; attended Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.; read law under the tuition of the late Senator Willard Saulsbury, of Dover; was admitted to the bar October 19, 1881, and has practiced his profession since; was elected State Librarian in January, 1879, and held that office for two terms; was appointed adjutant-general of the State by Governor B. T. Diggs, January, 1887, and retired from that office at the end of his term, January, 1891; was delegate to the National Democratic Convention at Chicago in 1892; was made a member of the National Democratic Committee in 1896, which position he still holds; was elected to the United States Senate as a Democrat January 19, 1897, to fill the vacancy caused by the legislature of 1895 failing to elect a Senator to succeed the Hon. Anthony Higgins, whose term expired March 4, 1895. He took his seat February 5, 1897. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901. Although ranking as one of the junior members of the Senate, in which august body recognition is usually slow, Mr. Kenney has moved well to the front in debate, especially on some of the questions growing out of our insular possessions and their government. He has also found an active and congenial sphere of duty as a member of the important committee on Census, and of the committees on Civil Service and Retrenchment, District of Columbia, Organization, Conduct and Expenditures of the Executive Departments, Pensions, and Post Offices and Post-roads.

ty to read understandingly the Constitution of the United States, and the possession of $300 worth of property. If this test were imposed on the Philippines, it would effectually deprive the whole native population of the suffrage. They make for their denial of the consent of the governed the ingenious plea that neither by the Declaration of Independence nor the Constitution did the negroes acquire rights or recognition; that the fathers never meant to include them. Certainly, if this be true, it applies with greater force to the alien races who inhabit the Philippine Islands, whose existence was unknown to the signers of the Declaration, the framers of the Constitution, or, in the language of that instrument, to "We, the people of the United States," who "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

By uniform legislation from the formation of the Republic and by repeated and clear decisions of the Supreme Court these principles are established: First, that the Constitution thus formed was meant for the States in the Union as they severally adopted it. Second, that it becomes operative upon every State subsequently admitted into the Union. Third, that it does not extend by its own force over territory acquired after the adoption of the Constitution, but that Congress has the power to grant so much of its provisions as it deems wise.

The third section of Article IV of the Constitution says:

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States.

The sixth article of the Constitution says:

All treaties made under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land.

Here is the charter for the government and the duty to hold and govern the Philippines. By the treaty with France for Louisiana, with Spain for Florida, and with Mexico for territories acquired, the ceding nations reserved specific rights for their inhabitants and a pledge of future statehood. The treaty of Paris with Spain stands alone in the baldness of the cession. Spain reserved nothing by treaty rights for her subjects in the Pacific islands and the archipelago. The treaty simply says:

That the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress.

The ratification of this treaty by the Senate made it, in the language of the Constitution, "the supreme law of the land." The President and Congress have no discretion. They must obey this law. They must hold these territories as they must hold New Mexico. They must provide government for them as they must also for Alaska. They must suppress insurrection by the same right and duty as they did when Geronimo and his tribe rebelled in Arizona.

It has been repeatedly said here that government by the United States in these islands will be a despotism. Such a belief shows a singular ignorance or misapprehension of the constitutional limitations upon our powers and the spirit of our institutions. While the Constitution does not extend over the Territories of its own force and without legislation, its prohibitions are binding on Congress. In those prohibitions, which are also privileges enjoyed by the people wherever our jurisdiction extends, is a complete charter of rights which Congress can neither limit nor impair. All personal privileges and immunities, such as religious freedom, property rights, freedom of speech and the press, and equality before the law must prevail wherever our flag floats. But outside of the Constitution and laws is an unwritten law created by the genius of the institution of the paramount power and controlling its acts and officials in all colonial governments.

We know from Cicero's oration that even a Roman proconsul was subject to this idea. England received her lesson in the danger of violating this spirit when she lost her American colonies by our successful Revolution, and she has to-day the greatest and most loyal colonial empire the world has ever known by granting such measures of self-government as each colony demonstrates its ability to maintain. Electricity and steam have annihilated time and distance. The Philippines are nearer Washington by months than New Orleans was in Jefferson's Administration. The flag carries with it everywhere the genius and spirit of American liberty and law. No American governor, council and judiciary would be tyrants if they could, and could not if they would. An insult or a blow at civil or religious liberty by an American administration in far-off Luzon would be flashed under the Ocean and across the land. The people would rise in hot indignation, demanding justice and punishment, which the President and Congress would be swift to grant and inflict.

All other nations have been familiar through the ages with the power of sovereignty. Their people have gradually won individual rights from the throne, but without impairing in its national relations this power. Louis XIV said, "I am the State." Since then France has been governed by Robespiere and the revolutionary committee, by Emperor, King, President, Emperor again, and President and Assembly, but the sovereign powers of the nation were unimpaired. We have developed the other way. Slowly and reluctantly we have surrendered individual rights that we might be a nation. We have been a hundred years trying to understand that a government of the people has all the strength, perpetuity and powers of sovereignty, but with an ever-present responsibility to the people. The great debate between those who affirmed and those who denied that we are a nation continued long after Webster's unanswerable argument in the Senate and Chief Justice Marshall's imposing decision from the bench. When submitted to the arbitrament of the sword, the sacrifice of a million noble lives on one side and the other opened the minds of friends and foes to a broader and more elevated understanding of the indissoluble unity, the vast and expansive possibilities, the creative and beneficent spirit and the mighty and glorious power of the United States.

The fears daily expressed by Senators of disastrous consequences to ourselves from the productions and industries of these islands have no justification in the long experience of other nations. Great Britain has found her best markets in her colonies and no invasion of her industries from them. The same is true of the crowded, highly organized, and sensitive industrial interests of Holland. The people of the temperate zones govern all tropical countries outside the Americas. The northern races are the migrators, the colonizers, the rulers, and the organizers of the productive energies of the world.

The markets for the products of our farms and factories accessible by the Atlantic Ocean will soon be filled. But across the Pacific are limitless opportunities. Within a distance from Manila not much greater than Havana from New York live 900,000,000 of people, purchasing now annually from all nations, of the things which we produce, to the sum of a thousand millions of dollars, of which we furnish five per cent. And yet with our Pacific coast and its enterprising people the opening of the canal across the isthmus and an American merchant marine that five per cent. should be fifty. With railroads opening up these countries and civilization stimulating their people, the possible increase in their trade dazzles the imagination. To relieve home congestion, starvation and revolution, England, Germany and France are increasing their armies, enlarging their fleets and either waging war or on the eve of great conflicts while partitioning Africa, threatening China, seizing Asiatic principalities and madly building railroads across the continents of Asia and Africa. By victorious war and triumphant diplomacy we are in our own territory within easy reach, at Manila, of China, Siam, Korea, Annam, the East Indies and Japan. Without war or entangling alliances we will have equal rights with other nations to the ports of the Orient, with all that it means for the demonstrated superiority of our manufactures and the surplus harvests of our farms.

This is not a sordid view, nor can any right apprehension of our Philippine policy or our relations to our island colonies be sordid or purely commercial. Commerce and civilization always go together. In spite of ourselves we have colonial possessions. We have no policy to declare, no glittering resolutions or proclamations to make and in the future to embarrass us. We will stamp out the insurrection and establish a stable government. We will organize local government. We will constitute courts. We will insure with the whole power of the United States security for life and property, freedom of religion and the equal and just administration of the law.

The kindergarten of liberty, under competent instructors, rapidly develops its pupils for larger responsibilities for citizenship, respect for law, for judicial duties and for a constantly increasing share in their local and general assemblies. One year of rule by the United States in Cuba is a convincing object lesson. Brigands have become farmers, and revolutionists conservative citizens. Order has taken the place of anarchy, and law of license. The Cubans are developing their industries and rapidly acquiring habits of self-government. So the uplifting of the people of the Philippines to the comprehension and practice of orderly industry, respect for individual rights, confidence and then participation in government will add enormously to their happiness and reciprocally to the strength, prosperity and power of our country.

Chauncey M. Depew

JOHN JACOB LENTZ.

John Jacob Lentz, Democrat, of Columbus, Ohio, was born near St. Clairsville, Belmont County, Ohio, January 27, 1856; attended district school and the St. Clairsville High School; taught school four years, and graduated from the National Normal University, Lebanon, Ohio, in 1877; attended University of Wooster one year, and graduated from University of Michigan with degree of A. B. in 1882; took both law courses at Columbia College, New York City, receiving the degree of LL. B. in 1883; admitted to the bar at Columbus in October, 1883 and since 1887 has been a member of the law firm of Nash & Lentz; for five years was one of the examiners of the city teachers, and was appointed a trustee of Ohio University by Governor McKinley; in the Democratic State Convention at Cincinnati, 1893, received votes for Governor from a dozen or more counties; also received votes for Governor at conventions held in Columbus, 1897, and Zanesville, 1899, although not a candidate and refusing to permit his name to be presented to either of the three conventions; was elected national president of the American Insurance Union in 1896, 1897, 1898, and again in 1899; was permanent chairman of the Democratic State Convention held at Dayton Augst 23 and 24, 1898; was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, defeating D. K. Watson, the Republican incumbent, by a plurality of 49 votes out of 47,000 votes cast, and reelected to the Fifty-sixth Congress by a plurality of 702 votes, receiving 21,232 votes, to 20,530 for Edward N. Huggins, Republican, 233 for Alexander M. Smith, Union Reform, and 293 for W. W. Johnson, Prohibitionist.

JOHN JACOB LENTZ.

WILLIAM LINDSAY.

WILLIAM LINDSAY.

William Lindsay, Democrat, of Frankfort, was born in Rockbridge County, Va., September 4, 1835; settled in Clinton, Hickman County, Ky., in November, 1854; commenced the practice of law in 1858; served in the Confederate army continuously from July, 1861, till May, 1865; was paroled as prisoner of war at Columbus, Miss., May 16, 1865; resumed the practice of law in Hickman County, Ky., in the autumn of 1865; was elected State Senator for the Hickman District in August, 1867; was elected judge of the Kentucky Court of Appeals in August, 1870, and served till September, 1878; from September, 1876, until September, 1878, was Chief justice of the court; has practiced law in Frankfort, Ky., since September, 1878; was elected State Senator for the Frankfort District in August, 1889; was appointed and served as a member of the World's Columbian Commission for the country at large from the organization of the commission until February 20, 1893; was appointed and confirmed as member of the Interstate Commerce Commission in January, 1892, but declined to accept the appointment; was elected United States Senator on February 14, 1893, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of John G. Carlisle, and was re-elected in January, 1894, for the full term commencing March, 1895. In 1899, he was selected to deliver the annual address before the American Bar Association and chose for his theme the power of the United States to acquire and govern foreign territory, a subject he treated learnedly and felicitously. While not an orator in the popular sense of the term, he is forcible and logical in debate, and is conceded to be one of the most profound constitutional lawyers in the Senate. He has rendered important public service as chairman of the Senate Committee on Revolutionary Claims, and as member of the committees on Census, Education and Labor, Indian Depredations, Interstate Commerce, The Judiciary, Pensions, and Industrial Expositions.

INQUIRIES AS TO THE PHILIPPINES.

By HON. RICHARD F. PETTIGREW,
U. S. Senator, South Dakota.

I BELIEVE the reflex action upon our own people of the conquest of other peoples and their governments, against their will, will gradually undermine free institutions in this country and result in the destruction of the Republic. What are the arguments urged why we should force a government upon the people of the Philippines? The President of the United States says they are not fit for self government. From my observation of history I believe there are no people fit for any other form of government. Governments are instituted, not bestowed, and therefore derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Any nation of people are capable of maintaining as good a government as they are entitled to have, and when they can maintain a better government they will evolve it, and you can not give them a better government than they can maintain for themselves. A form of government is the result of the social compact, and therefore the government of a people will be as good as the average of the individuals composing the community are willing to have. The American Indians maintained a government, and for them a better one than we have been able to bestow upon them. The Esquimos in the arctic regions maintain a government of their own suited to their condition and their circumstances, and it is a better government than anybody else can give them. Would their condition be improved by sending to them foreign governors and a foreign council to enact laws and direct their course and methods of life, to guide them in their civic and civil affairs? So with every other people the world round. There is nothing in the history of the colonies of the so-called Christian nations of the world to encourage the idea that we can give to this people a better government than they are able to maintain themselves.

The old doctrine of the divine right of kings, of the hereditary right to rule, is a doctrine that we disputed and controverted when we established our government and when we announced the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence. So proud have we been of that discovery that each year we have celebrated the birth into the world of a new theory, a new doctrine with regard to governments; and four hundred constitutions have been framed after ours. So powerful has our example been throughout the world, that nation after nation struggling to be free has adopted our form of government.

No nation, no people, in all time and in all history ever impressed such a powerful influence upon the human race as this republic, and for this reason alone. Empires have been established, a trail of blood has been drawn across the world, and vast aggregations of people have been brought under the rule of an emperor or monarch since history began, but no people, no nation in the history of the world, has ever produced such a powerful effect for good upon the human race as this great republic, and simply because of the doctrine laid down by our forefathers in the Declaration of Independence.

Is it an old doctrine that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed? Some have said that it was a nursery rhyme sung around the cradle of the republic. The doctrine is new. It was announced but a century ago, a day in the birth and life of nations, and yet this great republic, boasting as we have on each recurring celebration of the event, proposes now to abandon it for the old doctrine and the old theory and the old idea of selfishness.

I allude to those who advocate the conquest of the Philippines as imperialists and not as expansionists, for the reason that expansion implies the enlargement of the same thing, the adding of more of that which you already have, the acquisition of countries holding a population capable of living and supporting our Constitution to be admitted as States into the Union; while the imperialist doctrine is the acquisition of tropical colonies where it is admitted that self-government can not exist, as we understand it under our Constitution; and therefore the people must be governed perpetually and forever as crown colonies of this Republic.

The holding of such countries, the conquest of an unwilling people, their retention in subjugation by a standing army, means of necessity not a republic where all the people must be consulted, but a despotism where the will of one man can reach armies, declare war, and act with great rapidity. A republic is naturally slow in action, because the people must be considered and must be consulted.

We have taken on many of the semblances of monarchy and of imperialism in the conduct of this Administration—concealment of facts from the people, denial of news and information, no knowledge of what is going on, no announcement of policy and purpose; and the excuse for it all was that if we should allow the people to know the facts there was danger of creating disapproval of the course of our monarch, and if the enemy should secure those facts it would be of some assistance to them. This is necessary in a monarchy. Press censorship, too, is a necessary adjunct of imperialism, one of the things our forefathers would not have tolerated for a day. And yet our people are becoming so numb that they are willing to accept it, and even criticise men who protest.

If these islands were rich in every mineral men desire, if their supplies of gold surpassed those of the Transvaal, if every other metal precious and desirable were in unlimited quantities, if their soil were so fertile that it surpassed even the famous valley of the Nile, if they could produce every comfort with half the effort with which it can be produced elsewhere throughout the world, yet I would oppose the annexation of these islands because it is wrong, because it leaves those who have sneered at us in our claim that we were advocates of freedom a justification for their sneer in the future.

I hold that we can not profit from these islands. None of our race live within the Tropics. There is not a colony of our race, the Aryan race, anywhere within 22 degrees of the equator. The men of our race who have been doing a commercial business in Manila do not have their families there. They raise a family of half-mixed natives in Manila and leave their real families at home. So it has been with commercial England through the Tropics everywhere, for you can no more produce a white man, a man of our blood, in the Tropics than you can a polar bear. Climatic conditions place their limit upon men just as firmly as upon plants and upon animals. Trade does not follow the flag. If it be true that trade follows the flag, then England's trade with her colonies ought to be a good example and an argument in its favor. That ought to settle the question. Trade follows the best markets, and England's experience is a refutation of the doctrine that trade follows the flag.

What is there in the future to warrant us to believe that trade will hereafter follow the flag in the Philippines? I should like to have somebody tell me. We made a treaty with Spain by which we agreed that the Philippines should have the "open door," so that all the world could trade there through all time to come. Therefore we broke down the barriers of protection, abandoned the policy upon which the Republican party has ridden into power for years. We declared that we would have the "open door," thereby destroying absolutely all hope of any trade in the future with the people of the Philippines, for, under the decisions of our Supreme Court, we cannot impose a tariff on their products unless we amend the Constitution.

So their products will come to us free of duty. The tobacco made into cigars by the nimble fingers of those capable Malays will close the tobacco and cigar factories of this country and drive our labor into other channels of employment. There is no reason why they cannot supply unlimitedly the cigars for American consumption. Labor there is cheap, labor is abundant, and New England's money—the vast fortunes of the men who have accumulated by the control of monopolies in our country—will go there to exploit this labor, go there to make cotton goods out of Chinese cotton to be sold in the American market.

You ask me what I would do with the Philippines. I would draw our army back to Manila. I would send to the Philippine people assurance that they could set up their own government—a republic, such as they have set up under their constitution, framed after ours, providing, as it does, for universal education, for the protection of life and property, and I would say to the world, "Hands off!" Then I would try to neutralize that country—that is, I would try to make a treaty with the nations of the world by which those islands and their waters should be neutral ground, where any vessel of any country could go and coal and trade—not free trade, if they choose to put up a tariff wall against all the world, but it should be equal to all; but no nation could go there to fight.

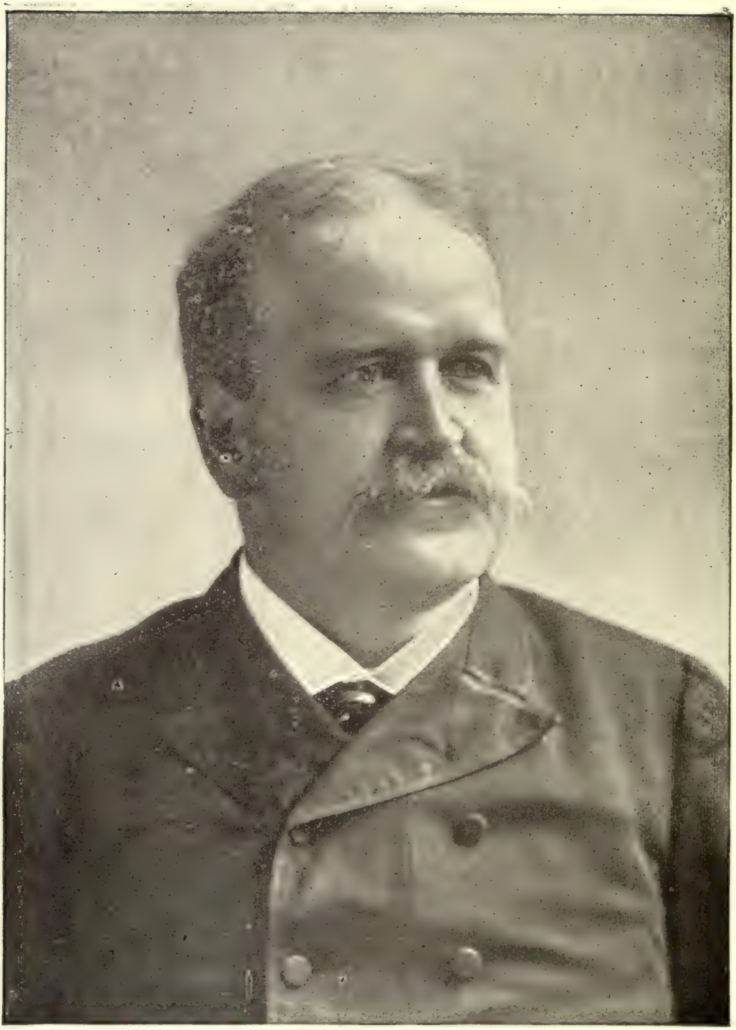
We are precluded by our Constitution and by the Declaration of Independence and by every claim we have ever made, by every speech of every person who has addressed a Fourth of July audience, from buying sovereignty over a people without their consent first obtained. Purchasing sovereignty and transferring from one nation to another the rights of their fellow men is simply a species of slavery. How can we justify it with all our boasted eloquence once a year for a century past? I say this Republic, above all the nations of the world, ought to refuse to be a party to the purchase or the effort at purchasing sovereignty over anybody.

R. F. Pettigrew

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Henry Cabot Lodge was born in Boston, Mass., May 12, 1850, and received his earlier education in Boston at a private school. He graduated at Harvard College in 1871, and at the Harvard Law School in 1875, with the degree of LL. B. He was admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1876, but inclined rather to the profession of literature than law. From 1874 to 1876 he was assistant editor of the "North American Review," and from 1879 to 1871, of the "International Review." In the meantime he published the "Life and Letters of George Cabot." In 1880-81 he served as a member of the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Legislature. In 1881 published a "Short History of English Colonies," and subsequently edited two series of "Popular Tales," and a volume of "Ballads and Lyrics." In 1883, he published a "Life of Alexander Hamilton," and a "Life of Daniel Webster." He was elected chairman of the Republican State Committee and in that capacity conducted the hard fought campaign which resulted in the defeat of Benjamin Butler for Governor. In 1884, he published "Studies in History," and was sent as a delegate at large to the Republican National Convention at Chicago. He ran as Republican candidate for Congress in the Sixth District, and was defeated by a very small margin of votes. He edited an edition of "Works of Alexander Hamilton," and published "Boston," in the Historic Town Series. He was elected and served as a member of the Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, and Fifty-third Congresses, in all of which he took an active part in debates and committee work. On March 4, 1893, he resigned his seat in the House and took the seat in the Senate to which he had been elected, to succeed Henry L. Dawes. He was re-elected U. S. Senator in 1899, his term expiring March 3, 1905.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.



JOHN DAVIS LONG.

JOHN DAVIS LONG.

John Davis Long, Secretary of the Navy, was born at Buckfield, Oxford County, Me., October 27, 1838. He was educated in the schools of his native place, at an academy in Hebron, a neighboring town, and at Harvard, where he was graduated with high honors in 1857. He composed the class ode for commencement in that year. For two years he was principal of an academy in Westford, Mass.; later took a course of law lectures at Harvard and studied law in Sidney Bartlett's office in Boston. Was admitted to the bar in 1861; went back to Maine for a short time; but returned to Boston, where he lived until 1869, when he removed to Hingham, Mass., his present home. While in Maine he was defeated for an election to the State Legislature. In 1871 he joined the Greeley movement, and ran for the legislature in Massachusetts on the independent ticket, but was defeated. In 1874 he was successful as a Republican. He was frequently called upon to occupy the speaker's chair, and acquired an experience which led to his being made temporary presiding officer of the legislature in 1875. In 1876 he became speaker, and was re-elected in 1877 and 1878. In 1879 he was elected Governor, defeating the late General B. F. Butler. He was twice unanimously renominated and re-elected. Subsequently he was elected to the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, and Fiftieth Congresses. Toward the end of his term in the house he was an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate. While in Congress he served on the committees on Commerce and Appropriations. Though devoted to the practice of law, when not engaged in political duties he has found time to devote a good deal of leisure to literary work. He was for several years on the State-house Construction Commission of his State, is senior member of the law firm of Long & Hemenway; was appointed and confirmed Secreteary of the Navy, March 5, 1897.

POLICY REGARDING THE PHILIPPINES.

By HON. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE,
U. S. Senator, Indiana.

THE times call for candor. The Philippines are ours forever, "territory belonging to the United States," as the Constitution calls them. And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work, not howling out regrets like slaves whipped to their burdens, but with gratitude for a task worthy of our strength, and thanksgiving to Almighty God that He has marked us as His chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world.

This island empire is the last land left in all the oceans. If it should prove a mistake to abandon it, the blunder once made would be irretrievable. If it proves a mistake to hold it, the error can be corrected when we will. Every other progressive nation stands ready to relieve us.

But to hold it will be no mistake. Our largest trade henceforth must be with Asia. The Pacific is our ocean. More and more Europe will manufacture the most it needs, secure from its colonies the most it consumes. Where shall we turn for consumers of our surplus? Geography answers the question. China is our natural customer. She is nearer to us than to England, Germany or Russia, the commercial powers of the present and the future. They have moved nearer to China by securing permanent bases on her borders. The Philippines give us a base at the door of all the East.

Lines of navigation from our ports to the Orient and Australia; from the isthmian canal to Asia; from all Oriental ports to Australia, converge at and separate from the Philippines. They are a self-supporting, dividend-paying fleet, permanently anchored at a spot selected by the strategy of Providence, commanding the Pacific. And the Pacific is the ocean of the commerce of the future. Most future wars will be conflicts for commerce. The power that rules the Pacific, therefore, is the power that rules the world. And, with the Philippines, that power is and will forever be the American Republic.

Two years ago there was no land in all the world which we could occupy for any purpose. Our commerce was daily turning toward the Orient, and geography and trade developments made necessary our commercial empire over the Pacific. And in that ocean we had no commercial, naval or military base. To-day we have one of the three great ocean possessions of the globe, located at the most commanding commercial, naval, and military points in the eastern seas within hail of India, shoulder to shoulder with China, richer in its own resources than any equal body of land on the entire globe and peopled by a race which civilization demands shall be improved. Shall we abandon it? That man little knows the common people of the Republic, little understands the instincts of our race, who thinks we will not hold it fast and hold it forever, administering just government by simplest methods. We may trick up devices to shift our burden and lessen our opportunity; they will avail us nothing but delay. We may tangle conditions by applying academic arrangements of self-government to a crude situation; their failure will drive us to our duty in the end.

But it would be better to abandon this combined garden and Gibraltar of the Pacific, and count our blood and treasure already spent a profitable loss, than to apply any academic arrangement of self-government to these children. They are not capable of self-government. How could they be? They are not a self-governing race. They are Orientals, Malays, instructed by Spaniards in the latter's worse estate.

They know nothing of practical government except as they have witnessed the weak, corrupt, cruel and capricious rule of Spain. What magic will anyone employ to dissolve in their minds and characters those impressions of governors and governed which three centuries of misrule has created? What alchemy will change the oriental quality of their blood and set the self-governing currents of the American pouring through their Malay veins? How shall they, in the twinkling of an eye, be exalted to the heights of self-governing peoples which required a thousand years for us to reach, Anglo-Saxon though we are?

Let men beware how they employ the term "self-government." It is a sacred term. It is the watchword at the door of the inner temple of liberty, for liberty does not always mean self-government. Self-government is a method of liberty—the highest, simplest, best—and it is acquired only after centuries of study and struggle and experiment and instruction and all the elements of the progress of man. Self-government is no base and common thing to be bestowed on the merely audacious. It is the degree which crowns the graduate of liberty, not the name of liberty's infant class, who have not yet mastered the alphabet of freedom. Savage blood, oriental blood, Malay blood, Spanish example—are these the elements of self-government?

We must act on the situation as it exists, not as we would wish it. I have talked with hundreds of these people, getting their views as to the practical workings of self-government. The great majority simply do not understand any participation in any government whatever. The most enlightened among them declare that self-government will succeed because the employers of labor will compel their employees to vote as their employer wills and that this will insure intelligent voting. I was assured that we could depend upon good men always being in office because the officials who constitute the government will nominate their successors, choose those among the people who will do the voting, and determine how and where elections will be held.

The most ardent advocate of self-government that I met was anxious that I should know that such a government would be tranquil because, as he said, if anyone criticised it, the government would shoot the offender. A few of them have a sort of verbal understanding of the democratic theory, but the above are the examples of the ideas of the practical workings of self-government entertained by the aristocracy, the rich planters and traders, and heavy employers of labor, the men who would run the government.

Our government in the islands must be simple and strong. Different forms in different islands would produce perpetual disturbance. Simple and strong must be written in every line of Philippine legislation and realized in every act of Philippine administration. A Philippine officer in our State Department; an American governor-general in Manila; American lieutenant-governors in each province; an American resident and council in each district; a Philippine civil service; abolition of duties on Philippine exports; import duties on a revenue basis; reform of local taxation; minting of money for Oriental use; franchises for development; a system of schools with compulsory education; teaching of the English language; a simple civil and criminal code; American judges in higher courts and native judges in lower; careful instruction in working machinery of government. All this with necessary force to back it, and military government till tranquility is established.

Even the elemental plan I have outlined will fail in the hands of any but ideal administrators. The men we send to administer civilized government in the Philippines must be themselves the highest examples of our civilization. I use the word examples, for examples they must be in that word's most absolute sense. They must be men of the world and of affairs, students of their fellow-men, not theorists nor dreamers. They must be brave men, physically as well as morally. They must be as incorruptible as honor, as stainless as purity, men whom no force can frighten, no influence coerce, no money buy. Such men come high, even here in America. But they must be had. Better pure military occupation for years than government by any other quality of administration. Better abandon this priceless possession, admit ourselves incompetent to do our part in the world-redeeming work of our imperial race; better now haul down the flag of arduous deeds for civilization and run up the flag of reaction and decay than to apply academic notions of self-government to these children or attempt their government by any but the most perfect administrators our country can produce. I assert that such administrators can be found.

I repeat that our Government and our administrators must be examples. You can not teach the Filipino by precept. An object lesson is the only lesson he comprehends. He has no conception of pure, orderly, equal, impartial government, under equal laws justly administered, because he has never seen such a government. He must be shown the simplest results of good govenrment by actual example in order that he may begin to understand its most elementary principles. Such a government will have its effect upon us here in America, too. Model administration there will be an example created by ourselves for model administration here; and our own example is the only one Americans ever heed. It is not true that charity begins at home. Selfishness begins there; but charity begins abroad and ends in its full glory in the home. It is not true that perfect government must be achieved at home before administering it abroad; its exercise abroad is a suggestion, an example, and a stimulus for the best government at home.

It is as if we projected ourselves upon a living screen, and beheld ourselves at the work. England to-day is the home of ideal municipal governments. Well, England's administration of Bombay did not divert attention from Glasgow, and Glasgow is to-day the model for all students of municipal problems. England's sanitary regeneration of filthy Calcutta made it clearer that Birmingham must be regenerated too, and to-day Birmingham is the municipal admiration of all instructed men. England's miracle in Egypt, surpassing the ancient one of turning rods into serpents because the modern miracle turns serpents into men, deserts into gardens, famine into plenty—England's work in the land of the sphinx has solved its profound riddle, exalted not England only, but all the world, by its noble example, and thrilled to the soul every citizen of Great Britain with civic pride in the achievement of the greatest civilizing empire of the world. "Cast thy bread upon the waters and after many days it shall return unto you." "With what measure ye meet, it shall be meted to you again."

WILLIAM E. MASON.

William E. Mason, Republican, of Chicago, Ill., was born in Franklinville, Cattaraugus County, N. Y., July 7, 1850; removed with his parents to Bentonsport, Iowa, in 1858; attended school at the Bentonsport Academy and Birmingham College; taught school from 1866 to 1870, the last two years at Des Moines, Iowa; entered the law office of Hon. Thomas F. Withrow, and was admitted to practice law in Des Moines; went to Chicago in 1873, and has practiced law there ever since; was elected to the general assembly in 1879, to the State Senate in 1881; was elected to the Fiftieth and Fifty-first Congresses; was elected to the United States Senate January 20, 1897, by a strict party vote, receiving 125 votes, to 78 votes for John P. Altgeld, Democrat. He took his seat March 4, 1897. His term of service will expire March 3, 1903. Mr. Mason has added to his floor duties in the Fifty-sixth Congress, those of the chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Manufactures, and membership of the committees on Claims, Fisheries, Immigration, Organization, Conduct and Expenditures of the Executive Departments, Post Offices and Post-roads, and Commerce.

WILLIAM E. MASON.

NELSON APPLETON MILES.

MAJOR-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES.

Nelson Appleton Miles was born at Wachusettville, Mass., on August 8, 1839, and was educated in the schools of his native town. When the Civil War broke out he entered the volunteer service as captain of the Twenty-second Massachusetts Volunteers, September, 1861. Was made adjutant-general of a brigade for distinguished services at Fair Oaks and Malvern Hill. On September 30, 1862, he was appointed colonel of the Sixty-first New York Volunteers, which regiment he gallantly commanded at the battle of Fredericksburg; he was severely wounded at the battle of Chancellorsville. On May 12, 1864, he was promoted to be a brigadier-general, and further distinguished himself in the campaigns before Richmond. In August, 1864, he was promoted to brevet major-general, and to full major-general of Volunteers in October, 1865.

On July 28, 1866, he was made a colonel of the Fortieth Infantry in the regular army of the United States. On March 15, 1869, he was transferred to the Fifth U. S. Infantry, having been first commissioned a brevet brigadier, and then brevet major-general in the regular army, on March 2, 1867. He was promoted to be full brigadier in the U. S. army in December, 1880, and to be a full major-general, April 5, 1890. He commanded many military departments, and particularly distinguished himself in the suppression of Indian outbreaks. During the serious riots at Chicago, in July, 1894, he commanded the U. S. troops sent to the scene. On October 5, 1895, he assumed command of the army of the United States with headquarters at Washington. Pending the surrender of the Spaniards at Santiago, he visited the scene and took part in the deliberations which led to capitulation. He led the army which invaded the island of Porto Rico and was fast reducing it to subjection when word came of the signing of the protocol, under whose terms hostilities were suspended. On June 8, 1900, he was commissioned by the President as lieutenant-general of the army, this honorary grade having been revived by the Military Academy act of the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Self-government and internal development have been the dominant notes of our first century; administration and the development of other lands will be the dominant notes of our second century. And administration is as high and holy a function as self-government, just as the care of a trust estate is as sacred an obligation as the management of our own concerns. Cain was the first to violate the divine law of human society which makes of us our brother's keeper. And administration of good government is the first lesson in self-government, that exalted estate toward which all civilization tends.

Administration of good government is not denial of liberty. For what is liberty? It is not savagery. It is not the exercise of individual will. It is not dictatorship. It involves government, but not necessarily self-government. It means law. First of all it is a common rule of action, applying equally to all within its limits. Liberty means protection of property and life without price, free speech without intimidation, justice without purchase or delay, government without favor or favorites. What will best give all this to the people of the Philippines—American administration, developing them gradually toward self-government, or self-government by a people before they know what self-government means?

The Declaration of Independence does not forbid us to do our part in the regeneration of the world. If it did, the Declaration would be wrong, just as the Articles of Confederation, drafted by the very same men who signed the Declaration, was found to be wrong. The Declaration has no application to the present situation. It was written by self-governing men for self-governing men.

It was written by men who, for a century and a half, had been experimenting in self-government on this continent, and whose ancestors for hundreds of years before had been gradually developing toward that high and holy estate. The Declaration applies only to people capable of self-government. How dare any man prostitute this expression of the very elect of self-governing people to a race of Malay children of barbarism, schooled in Spanish methods and ideas? And you, who say the Declaration applies to all men, how dare you deny its application to the American Indian? And if you deny it to the Indian at home how dare you grant it to the Malay abroad?

The Declaration does not contemplate that all government must have the consent of the governed. It announces that man's "inalienable rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are established among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that when any form of government becomes destructive of those rights, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" are the important things; "consent of the governed" is one of the means to those ends.

If "any form of government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it," says the Declaration. "Any forms" includes all forms. Thus the Declaration itself recognizes other forms of government than those resting on the consent of the governed. The word "consent" itself recognizes other forms, for "consent" means the understanding of the thing to which the "consent" is given; and there are people in the world who do not understand any form of government. And the sense in which "consent" is used in the Declaration is broader than mere understanding; for "consent" in the Declaration means participation in the government "consented" to. And yet these people who are not capable of "consenting" to any form of government must be governed.

The Declaration contemplates all forms of government which secures the fundamental rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Self-government, when that will best secure these ends, as in the case of people capable of self-government; other appropriate forms when people are not capable of self-government. And so the authors of the Declaration themselves governed the Indian without his consent; the inhabitants of Louisiana without their consent; and ever since the sons of the makers of the declaration have been governed not by theory, but by practice, after the fashion of our governing race, now by one form, now by another, but always for the purpose of securing the great eternal ends of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, not in the savage, but in the civilized meaning of those terms—life according to orderly methods of civilized society; liberty regulated by law; pursuit of happiness limited by the pursuit of happiness by every other man.

Those in opposition are stopped from denying our constitutional power to govern the Philippines as circumstances may demand, for such power is admitted in the case of Florida, Louisiana, Alaska. How, then, is it denied in the Philippines? Is there a geographical interpretation to the Constitution? Do degrees of longitude fix constitutional limitations? Does a thousand miles of ocean diminish constitutional power more than a thousand miles of land?

No; the oceans are not limitations of the power which the Constitution expressly gives Congress to govern all territory the nation may acquire. The Constitution declares that "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all need ful rules and regulations respecting the territory belonging to the United States." Not the Northwest territory only; not Louisiana or Florida only; not territory on this continent only, but any territory anywhere belonging to the nation. The founders of the nation were not provincial. Theirs was the geography of the world. They were soldiers as well as landsmen, and they knew that where our ships should go our flag might follow.

The nation's power to make rules and regulations for the government of its possessions is not confined to any given set of rules or regulations. It is not confined to any particular formula of laws or kind of government or type of administration Where is there found constitutional warrant for any special kind of government in "territory belonging to the United States?" The language affirming our power to govern such territory is as broad as the requirement of all possible situations. And there is nothing in the Constitution to limit that comprehensive language. The very reverse is true. For power to administer government anywhere and in any manner the situation demands would have been in Congress if the Constitution had been silent.

This whole question is deeper than any question of party politics; deeper than any question of the isolated policy of our country even; deeper even than any question of constitutional power. It is elemental. It is racial. God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. He has given us the spirit of progress to overwhelm the forces of reaction throughout the earth. He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples. Were it not for such a force as this the world would relapse into barbarism and night.

Our flag has never paused in its onward march. Who dares halt it now—now, when history's largest events are carrying it forward; now, when we are at last one people, strong enough for any task, great enough for any glory destiny can bestow? How comes it that our first century closes with the process of consolidating the American people into a unit just accomplished, and quick upon the stroke of that great hour presses upon us our world opportunity, world duty, and world glory, which none but a people welded into an indivisible nation can achieve or perform?

Blind indeed is he who sees not the hand of God in events so vast, so harmonious, so benign. Reactionary indeed is the mind that perceives not that this vital people is the strongest of the saving forces of the world; that our place, therefore, is at the head of the constructing and redeeming nations of the earth; and that to stand aside while events march on is a surrender of our interests, a betrayal of our duty as blind as it is base. Craven indeed is the heart that fears to perform a work so golden and so noble; that dares not win a glory so immortal.

Do you tell me that it will cost us money? When did America ever measure duty by financial standards? Do you tell me of the tremendous toil required to overcome the vast difficulties of our task? What mighty work for the world, for humanity, even for ourselves, has ever been done with ease? Even our bread must we eat by the sweat of our faces. Why are we charged with power such as no people ever knew of, if we are not to use it in a work such as no people ever wrought? We will dispute the divine meaning of the fable of the talents?

Do you remind me of the precious blood that must be shed, the lives that must be given, the broken hearts of loved ones for their slain? And this is indeed a heavier price than all combined. And yet as a nation every historic duty we have done, every achievement we have accomplished, has been by the sacrifice of our noblest sons. Every holy memory that glorifies the flag is of those heroes who died that its onward march might not be stayed. It is the nation's dearest lives yielded for the flag that makes it dear to us; it is the nation's most precious blood poured out for it that makes it precious to us. That flag is woven of heroism and grief, of the bravery of men and women's tears, of righteousness and battle, of sacrifice and anguish, of triumph and glory. It is these which make our flag a holy thing. Who would tear from that sacred banner the glorious legends of a single battle where it has waved on land or sea? What son of a soldier of the flag whose father fell beneath it on any field would surrender that proud record for the heraldry of a king? In the cause of civilization, in the service of the Republic anywhere on earth, Americans consider wounds the noblest decorations man can win, and count the giving of their lives a glad and precious duty.

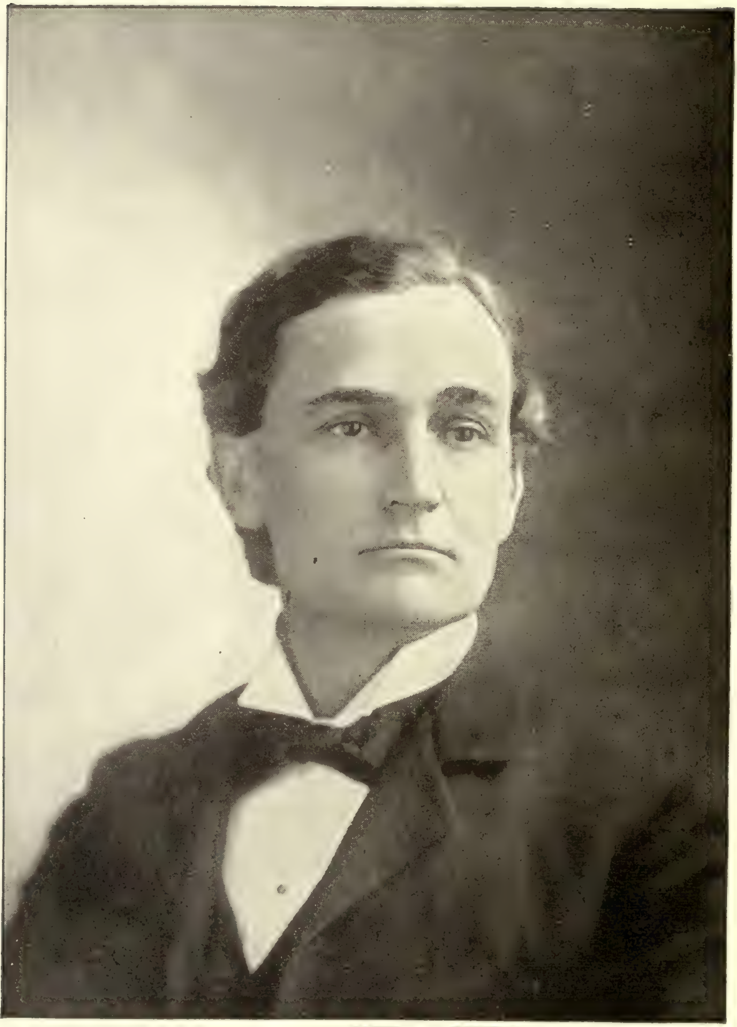
Pray God that spirit never fails. Pray God time may never come when Mammon and the love of ease shall so debase our blood that we will fear to shed it for the flag and its imperial destiny. Pray God the time may never come when American heroism is but a legend like the story of the Cid, American faith in our mission and our might a dream dissolved, and the glory of our mighty race departed.

And that time wil never come. We will renew our youth at the fountain of new and glorious deeds. We will exalt our reverence for the flag by carrying it to a noble future as

JOHN T. MORGAN.

John T. Morgan, Democrat, of Selma, Ala., was born at Athens, Tenn., June 20, 1824; received an academic education, chiefly in Alabama, to which State he emigrated when 9 years old, and where he has since resided; studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1845, and practiced until his election to the Senate; was a Presidential elector in 1860 for the State at large and voted for Breckinridge and Lane; was a delegate in 1861 from Dallas County to the State Convention which passed the ordinance of secession; joined the Confederate army in May, 1861, as a private in Company I, Cahaba Rifles, and when that company was assigned to the Fifth Alabama Regiment, under Col. Robert E. Rodes, he was elected major, and afterwards lieutenant-colonel of that regiment; was commissioned in 1862 as colonel and raised the Fifty-first Alabama Regiment; was appointed brigadier-general in 1863 and assigned to a brigade in Virginia, but resigned to join his regiment, whose colonel had been killed in battle; later in 1863 he was again appointed brigadier-general and assigned to an Alabama brigade which included his regiment; after the war he resumed the practice of his profession at Selma; was chosen a Presidential elector for the State at large in 1876 and voted for Tilden and Hendricks; was elected to the United States Senate, to succeed George Goldthwaite, Democrat; took his seat March 5, 1877; was re-elected in 1882, in 1888, and again in 1894; was a member of the commission appointed to prepare a system of laws for the Hawaiian Islands. During his senatorial career, Mr. Morgan has been a consistent and powerful advocate of the building of the Nicaragua canal, and of all measures looking to improved industrial and commercial conditions in the Southern States. He has rendered distinguished service as chairman of the Senate Committee on Interoceanic Canals, and as member of the committees on Coast and Insular Survey, Foreign Relations, Forest Reservations, Indian Affairs, and Pacific Railroads.

JOHN T. MORGAN.



PAGE MORRIS.

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Page Morris, Republican, of Duluth, Minn., was born June 30, 1853, at Lynchburg, Va.; educated at a private school and at William and Mary College and the Virginia Military Institute; graduated at the latter institution in 1872, and was at once appointed assistant professor of mathematics; in 1873 was appointed professor of mathematics in the Texas Military Institute, and removed to Austin, Tex.; in 1876 was elected professor of applied mathematics in the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, located near Bryan, in that State, where he remained for three years; studied law while teaching in college, and was admitted to the bar at Lynchburg, Va., whither he had returned, in 1880; in 1884 was nominated by the Republicans and ran for Congress in the Sixth District of Virginia against John W. Daniel, Democrat, and was defeated; in 1886 removed from Lynchburg to Duluth, where he has resided since; in February, 1889, was elected municipal judge of the city of Duluth; in March, 1894, was elected by the city council of Duluth city attorney; in August, 1895, was appointed by the Governor district judge of the Eleventh Judicial District of Minnesota; in July, 1896, was unanimously nominated by the Republican Congressional Convention for Congress, accepted the nomination, and immediately sent to the Governor his resignation of the office of judge, to take effect September 1, so that he might make the campaign; was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress and reelected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, receiving 22,194 votes, to 21,731 for Charles A. Towne, Democrat-Populist, and 412 for Edward Kriz, Socialist Labor.

well as by remembering its ineffable past. Its immortality will not pass, because everywhere and always we will acknowledge and discharge the solemn responsibilities our sacred flag in its deepest meaning, puts upon us.

Albert J. Beveridge

NATIONAL WRONG TOWARD THE PHILIPPINES.

By HON. GEORGE F. HOAR,
U. S. Senator, Massachusetts.

THE practical question which divided the American people last year, and which divides them to-day, is this: Whether in protecting the people of the Philippine Islands from the ambition and cupidity of other nations we are bound to protect them from our own.

If to think as I do in regard to the interpretation of the Constitution; in regard to the mandates of the moral law or the law of nations, to which all men and all nations must render obedience; in regard to the policies which are wisest for the conduct of the state, or in regard to those facts of recent history in the light of which we have acted or are to act hereafter, be treason, then Washington was a traitor; then Jackson was a traitor; then Franklin was a traitor; then Sumner was a traitor; then Lincoln was a traitor; then Webster was a traitor; then Clay was a traitor; then Corwin was a traitor; then Kent was a traitor; then Seward was a traitor; then McKinley, within two years, was a traitor; then the supreme court of the United States has been in the past a nest and hotbed of treason; then the people of the United States, for more than a century, have been traitors to their own flag and their own Constitution.

We are presented with an issue that can be clearly and sharply stated as a question of constitutional power, a question of international law, a question of justice and righteousness, or a question of public expediency. This can be stated clearly and sharply in the abstract, and it can be put clearly and sharply by an illustration growing out of existing facts.

The constitutional question is: Has Congress the power, under our Constitution, to hold in subjection unwilling vassal states?

The question of international law is: Can any nation rightfully convey to another sovereignty over an unwilling people who have thrown off its dominion, asserted their independence, established a government of their own, over whom it has at the time no practical control, from whose territory it has been disseized, and which it is beyond its power to deliver?

The question of justice and righteousness is: Have we the right to crush and hold under our feet an unwilling and subject people whom we had treated as allies, whose independence we are bound in good faith to respect, who had established their own free government and who had trusted us?

The question of public expediency is: Is it for our advantage to promote our trade at the cannon's mouth and at the point of the bayonet?

All these questions can be put in a way of practical illustration by inquiring whether we ought to do what we have done, are doing, and mean to do in the case of Cuba; or what we have done, are doing, and some of you mean to do in the case of the Philippines Islands.

I admit that the United States may acquire and hold property, and may make rules and regulations for its disposition.

I admit that, like other property, the United States may acquire and hold land. It may acquire it by purchase. It may acquire it by treaty. It may acquire it by conquest. And it may make rules and regulations for its disposition and government however it may be acquired.

When there are inhabitants upon the land so acquired it may make laws for their government. But the question between me and the gentlemen on the other side is this: Is this acquisition of territory, of land or other property, whether gained by purchase, conquest, or treaty, a constitutional end or only a means to a constitutional end? May you acquire, hold, and govern territory or other property as an end for which our Constitution was framed, or is it only a means toward some other and further end? May you acquire, hold, and govern property by conquest, treaty, or purchase for the sole object of so holding and governing it, without the consideration of any further constitutional purpose? Or must you hold it for a constitutional purpose only, such as the making of new States, the national defense and security, the establishment of a seat of government, or the construction of forts, harbors, and like works, which, of course, are themselves for the national defense and security?

I hold that this acquisition, holding, and governing can be only a means for a constitutional end—the creation of new States or some other constitutional purpose. And I maintain that you can no more hold and govern territory than you can hold and manage cannon or fleets for any other than a constitutional end; and I maintain that the holding in subjection an alien people, governing them against their will for any fancied advantage to them, is not only not an end provided for by the Constitution, but is an end prohibited therein.

The Constitution of the United States sets forth certain specific objects and confers certain specific powers upon the Government it creates. All powers necessary or reasonably convenient to accomplishing these specific objects and exercising these specific powers are granted by implication. In my judgment the Constitution should be liberally construed in determining the extent of such powers. The Constitution says that Congress may make rules and regulations for the government of the territory and other property of the United States. That implies that we may acquire and regulate territory as we may acquire and use other property, such as our ships of war, our cannon or forts or arsenals. But territory, like other property, can only be acquired for constitutional purposes, and can not be acquired and governed for unconstitutional purposes. Now, one constitutional purpose is to admit new States to the Union. That is one of the objects for which the Constitution was framed. So we may acquire and hold and govern territory with that object in view. But governing subject peoples, and holding them for that purpose, is not a constitutional end. On the contrary, it is an end which the generation which framed the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence declared was unrighteous and abhorrent. So, in my opinion, we have no constitutional power to acquire territory for the purpose of holding it in subjugation, in a state of vassalage or serfdom, against the will of its people.

It is to be noted just here that we have acquired no territory or other property in the Philippine Islands, save a few public buildings. By every other acquisition of territory the United States became a great land owner. She owned the public lands as she had owned the public lands in the Northwest ceded to her by the old States. But you own nothing in the Philippines. The people own their farms and dwellings and cities. The religious orders own the rest. The Filipinos desire to do what our English ancestors did in the old days when England was Catholic. The laity feared that the Church would engross all the land. So they passed their statute of mortmain. You have either got to let the people of the Philippine Islands settle this matter for themselves, or you must take upon you the delicate duty of settling it for them. Your purchase or conquest is a purchase or conquest of nothing but sovereignty. It is a sovereignty over a people who are never to be admitted to exercise it or to share it.

In the present case we have not, I repeat, bought any property. We have undertaken to buy mere sovereignty. There were no public lands in the Philippine Islands, the property of Spain, which we have bought and paid for. The mountains of iron and the nuggets of gold and the hemp-bearing fields—do you purpose to strip the owners of their rightful title? We have undertaken to buy allegiance, pure and simple. And allegiance is just what the law of nations declares you can not buy.

When hostilities broke out, February 5, 1899, we had no occupancy of and no title of any kind to any portion of the Philippine territory, except the town and bay of Manila. Everything else was in the peaceful possession of the inhabitants. In such a condition of things, international law speaks to us with its awful mandate. It pronounces your proposed action sheer usurpation and robbery. You have no better title, according to the law of nations, to reduce this people to subjection than you have to subjugate Mexico or Haiti or Belgium or Switzerland.

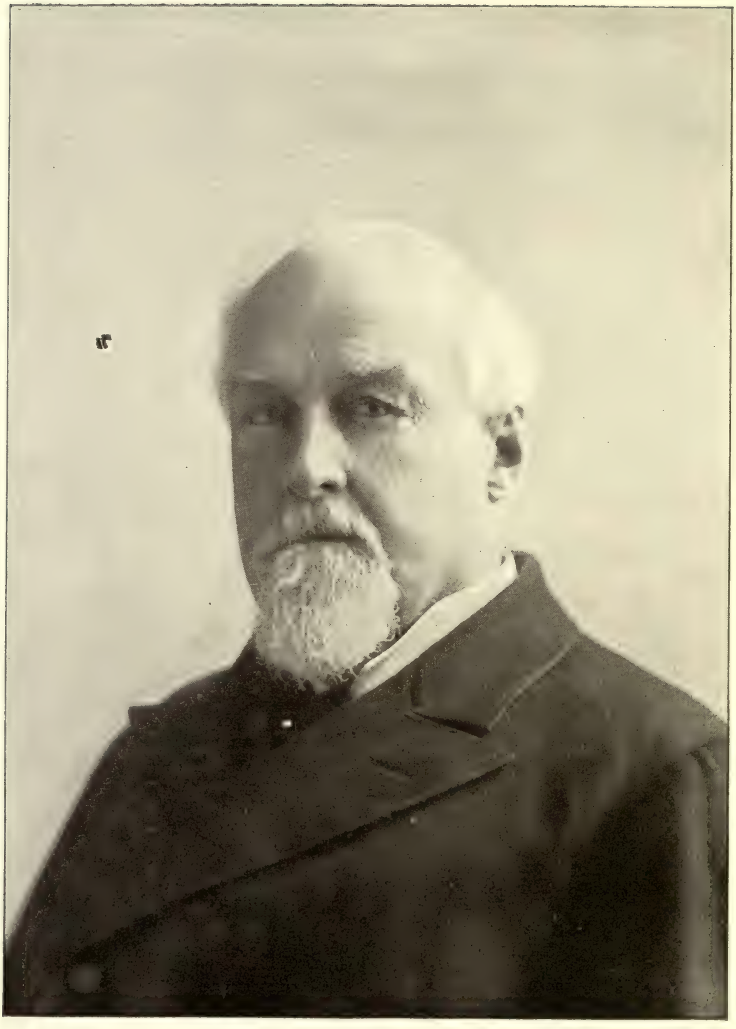
This is the settled doctrine, as declared by our own great masters of jurisprudence.

You have no right, according to the law of nations, to obtain by purchase or acquisition sovereignty over a people which is not actually exercised by the country which undertakes to convey it or yield it.

PORTER JAMES McCUMBER.

Porter James McCumber, Republican, of Wahpeton, N. Dak., was born in Illinois, February 3, 1856; removed to Rochester, Minn., the same year; was brought up on a farm and educated in the district schools, afterwards in the city schools; taught school for a few years, and took the law course in the University of Michigan, graduating in 1880; removed to Wahpeton, N. Dak., in 1881, where he has since practiced his profession; was a member of the Territorial Legislature in 1895 and 1897, since which time he refused to accept any public office in the State except that which was in line with his profession—State's attorney—until he became a candidate for Senator; was elected to the United States Senate January 20, 1899, and took his seat March 4, 1899. His term of service will expire March 3, 1905. During his senatorial career, Mr. McCumber has been honored with the chairmanship of the Senate Select Committee To Investigate Trespassers upon Indian Lands, and with membership on the Committees of Census, Indian Affairs, Pensions, Claims, and the select committee on the Transportation and Sale of Meat Products.

PORTER JAMES McCUMBER.



SAMUEL DOUGLAS McENERY.

SAMUEL DOUGLAS McENERY.

Samuel Douglas McEnery, Democrat, of New Orleans, La., was born at Monroe, La., May 28, 1837; was educated at Spring Hill College, near Mobile, Ala., the United States Naval Academy, and the University of Virginia; graduated from State and National Law School, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; served in the Confederate army, in the war between the States as lieutenant, in Virginia, under Magruder, and in the Trans-Mississippi Department; is a lawyer by profession; was nominated by the Democratic party and elected lieutenant-governor, with L. A. Wiltz as Governor, in 1879; on the death of Governor Wiltz, October, 1881, succeeded him in the executive office; was nominated by the Democratic party for Governor and elected in 1884; was a candidate for renomination and was defeated by Gen. Francis T. Nicholls for the nomination;General Nicholls was elected in 1888 and appointed his opponent, S. D. McEnery, to be associate justice of the Supreme Court in 1888 for the term of twelve years; was nominated by the Democratic party in 1892 for Governor and defeated by the Anti-Lottery party;was nominated by Democratic caucus for Senator at the session of the legislature in 1896, and elected to the Senate, to succeed the Hon. N. C. Blanchard, May 28, 1896; Walter Denegre, of New Orleans, was his opponent, supported by Republicans, Populists, and a faction from the Democratic party known as the Citizens' League. The vote was as follows: S. D. McEnery—senate, 20; house, 48; total, 68; against—senate, 16; house, 50; total, 66, for Walter Denegre. This was the vote as originally called, but before it was announced 1 vote changed from McEnery to Denegre and 2 votes from Denegre to McEnery, making the vote stand, McEnery, 70; Denegre, 64; took his seat March 4, 1897. His term of service will expire March 3, 1903. His duties on the floor of the Senate have been augmented by those as member of the committees on Census, Improvement of the Mississippi River, Naval Affairs, Private Land Claims, Public Health and National Quarantine, and Public Lands.

It is a familiar principle of the common law that you can not make a lawful purchase of land, of which the seller is disseized, or of a chattel of which he is dispossessed. The reason of this doctrine is to prevent the purchase of lawsuits. This rule applies with tenfold force to undertaking to purchase human beings when their country and the selling power is dispossessed at the time of the sale, and where the title can only be enforced by war.

We have not yet completed the acquisition. But at the time we entered upon it, and at the time of this alleged purchase, the people of the Philippine Islands, as appears by General Otis's report, by Admiral Dewey's report, and the reports of officers for whom they vouched, held their entire territory, with the exception of the single town of Manila. They had, as appears from these reports, a full organized government. They had an army fighting for independence, admirably disciplined, according to the statement of zealous advocates of expansion.

Is it credible that any American statesman, that any American Senator, that any intelligent American citizen anywhere, two years ago could have been found to affirm that a proceeding like that of the Paris treaty could give a just and valid title to sovereignty over a people situated as were the people of those islands? A title of Spain, originally by conquest, never submitted to nor admitted by the people of the islands, with frequent insurrections at different times for centuries, and then the yoke all thrown off, a constitutional government, schools, colleges, churches, universities, hospitals, town governments, a legislature, a cabinet, courts, a code of laws, and the whole island occupied and controlled by its people, with the single exception of one city; with taxes lawfully levied and collected, with an army and the beginning of a navy.

And yet the Senate, the Congress enacted less than two years ago that the people of Cuba—controlling peaceably no part of their island, levying no taxes in any orderly or peaceable way, with no administration of justice, no cabinet—not only of right ought to be, but were, in fact, a free and independent State. But the question now is a very different one. You not only deny that the Filipinos are, but you deny that they of right ought to be free and independent; and you recognize Spain as entitled to sell to you the sovereignty of an island where she was not at the time occupying a foot of territory, where her soldiers were held captives by the government of the island, a government to which you had delivered over a large number of Spanish prisoners to be held as captives. And yet you here to-day say that they not only are not, but they of right ought not to be free and independent.

I affirm that you can not get by conquest, and you can not get by purchase, according to the law of nations as accepted and expounded by the United States, sovereignty over a people, or title to a territory, of which the power that undertakes to sell it or the power from whom you undertake to wrest it has not the actual possession and dominion. Under municipal law you can not buy a horse of which the seller is dispossessed; you can not buy a foot of land of which he is disseized. You can not purchase a lawsuit. Under international law you can not buy a people from a power that has no actual dominion over them. You can not buy a war. More than this, you can not buy a tyrant's claim to subject again an oppressed people who have achieved their freedom.

You can not buy the liberties of a people from a dispossessed tyrant, liberties they have bravely won for themselves in arms. You can not buy sovereignty like merchandise and men like sheep. The King of England kept, down to 1800, the title of Duke of Normandy and King of France. Could any other country or all Europe together have bought France of King George? I wonder what would have happened if, instead of acknowledging our independence, any time before the French treaty France had bought England out and undertaken to assert her title to the United States. These questions have to be answered, not amid the shouting and applause of a political platform, not in party platforms, not alone in a single campaign or a single generation. They have to be answered to history, to the instructed conscience of the civilized world, when the passions and the greed and the ambitions of a single generation have gone by and are cold. And there will be to them but one answer.

Until within two years the American people have been wont to appeal to the Declaration of Independence as the foremost State paper in history. It was the sober utterance of the soberest men of the soberest generation that ever lived. It was the declaration of a religious people at the most religious period of their history. It was a declaration not merely of rights but of duties. It was an act not of revolution but of construction. It was the corner stone, the foundation stone of a great national edifice wherein the American people were to dwell forevermore. The language was the language of Thomas Jefferson. But the thought was the thought of everyone of his associates. The men of the Continental Congress meant to plant their new nation on eternal verities which no man possessed by the spirit of liberty could ever thereafter undertake to challenge. As the Christian religion was rested by its author on two sublime commandments on which hang all the laws and the prophets, so these men rested republican liberty on two sublime verities on which it must stand, if it can stand at all; in which it must live or bear no life. One was the equality of the individual man with every other in political right. The other is that you are now seeking to overthrow—the right of every people to institute their own government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness, and so to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them. Equality of individual manhood and equality of individual states. This is the doctrine which the Republican party is now urged to deny.

To justify that denial the advocates of the policy of imperialism are driven to the strange affirmation that Thomas Jefferson did not believe it and contradicted it when he purchased Louisiana; that John Quincy Adams did not believe it and contradicted it when he bought Florida; that Abraham Lincoln did not believe it and contradicted it when he put down the rebellion.

In every accession of territory to this country ever made we recognized fully the doctrine of the consent of the governed and the doctrine that territory so acquired must be held to be made into States. The men who say that Jefferson violated the doctrine of the Declaration when he bought Louisiana, and John Quincy Adams when he acquired Florida, and Sumner when he made his great speech for Alaska, might, with as much reason, justify a rape by citing the precedent of every lawful marriage that has taken place since the beginning of time.

The whole Declaration is a statement of political rights and political relations and political duties.

First. Every man is equal in political rights, including the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, to every other.

Second. No people can come under the government of any other people, or of any ruler, without its consent. The law of nature and of nature's God entitled every people to its separate and equal station among the powers of the earth. Our fathers were not dealing in this clause with the doctrine of the social compact; they were not considering the rights of minorities; they used the word "people" as equivalent to "nation," or "state," as an organized political being, and not as a mere aggregate of persons not collected or associated. They were affirming the right of each of the thirteen colonies separately or of all together to throw off the yoke of George III and to separate itself or themselves from Great Britain. Now, you must either admit that what they said was true, or you must affirm the contrary.

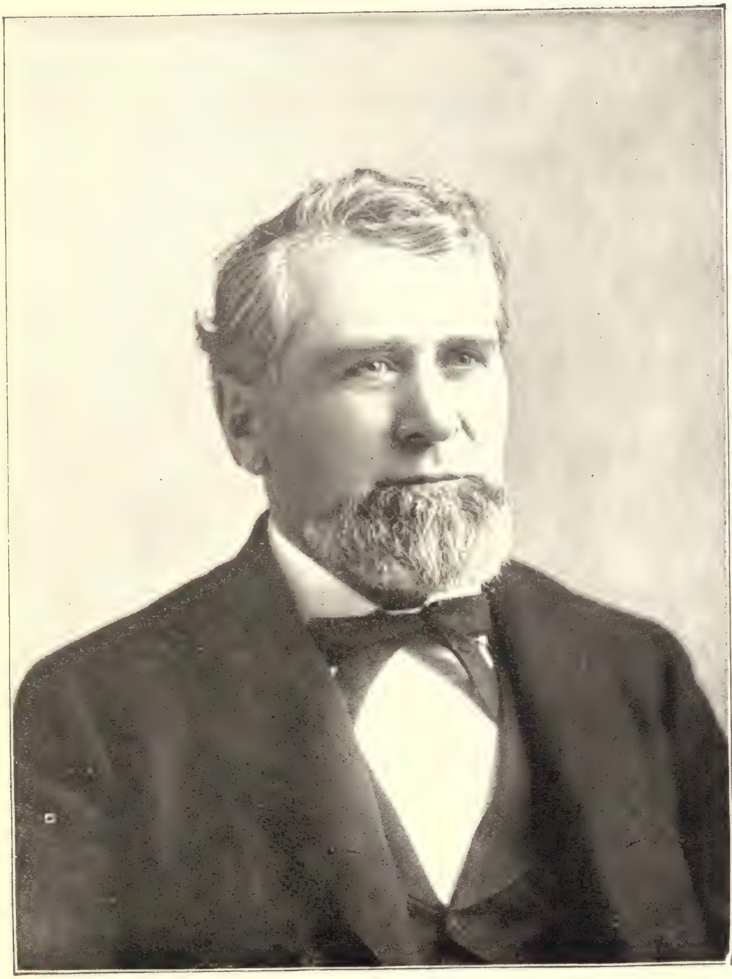
The exact point where a few scattered settlements become a people, or a few nomadic tribes a nation, may not admit of precise mathematical definition. But surely that is a people, that is a power of the earth, that is a nation entitled as such to its separate and equal station among the powers of the earth by the laws of nature and of nature's God, that has a written constitution, a settled territory, an independence it has achieved, an organized army, a congress, courts, schools, universities, churches, the Christian religion, a village life in orderly, civilized, self-governed municipalities; a pure family life, newspapers, books, statesmen who can debate questions of international law, like Mabini, and organize governments, like Aguinaldo; poets like Jose Rizal; aye, and patriots who can die for liberty, like Jose Rizal. The Boer republic is a nation, and it is a crime to crush out its life, though its population be less than that of Providence, R. I. Each one of our old thirteen States would have been a nation, even if it had stood alone. And the Philippine republic, with twenty times the number of the Boers, a people more than the whole thirteen States who joined in the Declaration put together, is a nation, and it is a greater crime still to crush out its life.

If there were no Constitution, if there were no Declaration, if there were no international law, if there were nothing but the history of the past two years, the American people would be bound in honor, if there be honor, bound in common honesty, if there be honesty, not to crush out this Philippine republic, and not to wrest from this people its independence. The history of our dealing with the Philippine people is found in the reports of our commanders. It is all contained in our official documents, and in published statements of General Anderson and in the speeches of the President. It is little known to the country to-day. When it shall be known, I believe it will cause a revolution in public sentiment.

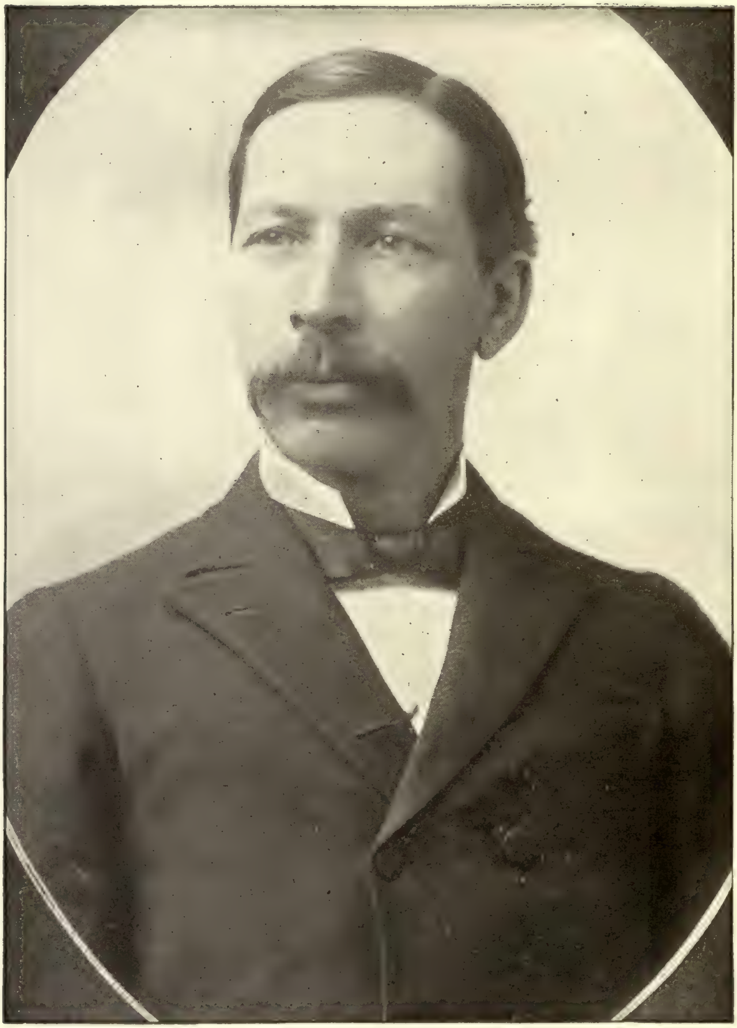
There are 1,200 islands in the Philippine group. They extend as far as from Maine to Florida. They have a population, variously estimated at from 8,000,000 to 12,000,000. There are wild tribes who never heard of Christ, and islands that never heard of Spain. But among them are the people of the island of Luzon, numbering 3,500,00, and the people of the Visayan Islands, numbering 2,500,000 more. They are a Christian and civilized people. They wrested their independence from Spain and established a republic. Their rights are no more to be affected by the few wild tribes in their own mountains or by the dwellers in the other islands than the rights of our old thirteen States were affected by the French in Canada, or the Six Nations of New York, or the Cherokees of Georgia, or the Indians west of the Mississippi. Twice our commanding generals, by their own confessions, assured these people of their independence. Clearly and beyond all cavil we formed an alliance with them.

KNUTE NELSON.

Knute Nelson, Republican, of Alexandria, Minn., was born in Norway, February 2, 1843; came to the United States in July, 1849, and resided in Chicago, Ill., until the fall of 1850, when he removed to the State of Wisconsin, and from there he removed to Minnesota in July, 1871; was a private and non-commissioned officer in the Fourth Wisconsin Regiment during the war of the rebellion, and was wounded and taken prisoner at Port Hudson, La., June 14, 1863; was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1867; was a member of the assembly in the Wisconsin Legislature in 1868 and 1869; was county attorney of Douglas County, Minn., in 1872, 1873, and 1874; was State Senator in 1875, 1876, 1877, and 1878; was Presidential elector in 1880; was a member of the board of regents of the State University from February 1, 1882, to January 1, 1893; was a member of the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, and Fiftieth Congresses for the Fifth District of Minnesota; was elected Governor of Minnesota in the fall of 1892 and re-elected in the fall of 1894; was elected United States Senator for Minnesota January 23, 1895, for the term commencing March 4, 1895. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901. Mr. Nelson has rendered highly satisfactory service as chairman of the Senate Committeee on Department of the Mississippi and its Tributaries, also as a member of the committees on Commerce, Public Lands, Railroads, To Establish the University of the United States, Indian Affairs, and Pacific Islands.



KNUTE NELSON.



THEOBOLD OTJEN.

THEOBOLD OTJEN.

Theobold Otjen, Republican, of Milwaukee, Wis., was born in West China, St. Clair County, Mich., October 27, 1851; was educated at the Marine City (Mich.) Academy and at a private school in Detroit conducted by Prof. P. M. Patterson; was employed as foreman in the rolling mill of the Milwaukee Iron Company at Milwaukee from 1870 to the fall of 1872; entered the law department of the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, in October, 1873; graduated March 25, 1875, and was immediately admitted to the bar at Ann Arbor; practiced law in Detroit until the fall of 1883, when he removed to Milwaukee, where he has since resided, engaged in the practice of law and in the real estate business; was elected a member of the common council of the city of Milwaukee in April, 1887, and was re-elected for three successive terms, serving seven years in all; was a trustee of the Milwaukee Public Library from 1887 to 1891, and a trustee of the Milwaukee Public Museum from 1891 to 1894; ran for comptroller of the city of Milwaukee in April, 1892, but went down to defeat with the rest of the Republican ticket under the Bennett law tidal wave; was nominated as the Republican candidate for Congress in 1892 and ran against Hon. John L. Mitchell, now Senator, but was defeated; was again the Republican candidate in 1893 for the seat in Congress made vacant by the election of Mr. Mitchell to the Senate, but was again defeated; was elected to the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, receiving 15,903 votes, to 14,022 for Joseph G. Donnelly, Democrat, 2,227 for Robert Schilling, Populist, 993 for Louis A. Arnold, Socialist Labor, 500 for John Moser, Socialist Democrat, and 2 scattering.

We expressly asked them to cooperate with us. We handed over our prisoners to their keeping; we sought their help in caring for our sick and wounded. We were told by them again and again that they were fighting for independence. Their purpose was as well known to our generals, to the War Department, and to the President, as the fact that they were in arms. We never undeceived them until the time when hostilities were declared in 1899. Hostilities were begun by us at a place where we had no right to be, and were continued by us in spite of Aguinaldo's disavowal and regret and offer to withdraw to a line we should prescribe. If we crush that republic, despoil that people of their freedom and independence, and subject them to our rule, it will be a story of shame and dishonor.

Is it right, is it just, to subjugate this people? To substitute our Government for their self-government, for the constitution they have proclaimed and established, a scheme of government such as we could devise ten thousand miles away?

Had they rightly achieved their independence when hostilities began between us and them?

Did they forfeit their independence by the circumstances of the war?

On the whole, have they not shown that they are fit for self-government, fit as Cuba, fit as Greece, fit as Spain, fit as Japan, fit as Haiti or San Domingo, fit as any country to the south of us, from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, was when, with our approval, those countries won their liberties from Spain?

Can we rightfully subjugate a people because we think them unfit for self-government?

The people of the Philippine Islands have never submitted themselves willingly to Spain. There has been no time for two centuries when they would not have been free from the yoke if they could. Their history has been a history of cruelty and oppression on one side, of resistance and the aspiration for freedom on the other.

In 1896 a rebellion broke out, headed byAguinaldo. His people were unarmed and poor. The difficulty of communication in a country without roads made combination impossible against a power that commanded the sea and the seaports. Still, the revolt was formidable enough to compel Spain to make promises of reform and redress of grievances. Aguinaldo, seeing that a continued strife would cost much suffering, many lives, and in all likelihood defeat in the end, accepted Spain's promise of amendment and agreed that the principal leaders of the rebellion, their wives, widows, and children, should go into exile and that Spain should make some provision for their support.

Spain was faithless to her promise of reform and paid over only part of the money. This transaction has been much criticised here, but, in my judgment, it leaves no stain on the honesty or patriotism of the insurgent chief. There is no evidence that he profited himself by the transaction or expended a penny of the money for his own use. The transaction was, as circumstances then were, for the interest of his people.

Many advocates of imperialism who have investigated the matter have declared their confidence in Aguinaldo's integrity. I have studied as well as I could the character and career of Aguinaldo. I do not compare him with Washington. To Americans there is one character too lofty, one name too sacred, for parallel or comparison. But I believe he is to take a high rank hereafter among the men who have lived and died for liberty. He deserves to be remembered with that small band who have given life, and everything dearer than life to their country in a losing cause.

To his loved land he gave, without a stain,
Courage and faith, vain faith, and courage vain.

He shall live with Kossuth, with Oom Paul, with Joubert, with Emmett, with Egmont and Horn, with Nathan Hale, with Warren, with all the great martyrs of history whose blood hath been the seed of the church of liberty.

He, subtle, strong, and stubborn, gave his life
  To a lost cause, and knew the gift was vain.

Later shall rise a people sane and great,
  Forged in strong fires, by equal war made one,
Telling old battles over without hate,
  Noble, his name shall pass from sire to son.

One of the great mistakes of many honest people is the belief that Aguinaldo has in some way imposed himself upon the people of Luzon and the neighboring islands against their will; that he is an unscrupulous usurper, who forced his authority on an unwilling people. This notion is corrected a hundred times by the testimony of our officials. Aguinaldo was as much the recognized leader of his people as Kossuth was the recognized leader of the Hungarians. Admiral Dewey brought him back from exile because he was the accepted choice of his people. There were 30,000 men in arms who hailed him on his arrival as their chosen leader. The constitution he promulgated was accepted by the people who were then, throughout Luzon and the Visayas, in the enjoyment of a quiet and orderly government, republican in form, save the brief and temporary dictatorship exercised only for military purposes—a dictatorship not half as absolute in theory as the dictatorship of our President over those islands has been in theory during the last twelve months.

Aguinaldo came back to Luzon. He found 30,000 men in arms for liberty, waiting to receive him. He conquered. They were poorly armed at first, but they got arms from us and they purchased arms abroad. They banished Spain from the whole of Luzon and the Visayas; they captured thousands upon thousands of Spanish prisoners; other thousands were committed to them by us, until they had the whole of the civilized portion of those islands under their command, and hemmed Spain into the city of Manila by a line of intrenchments extending from water to water.

They organized a civil government. It is true Aguinaldo was declared in the beginning dictator chief, as in three instances in South America Bolivar was declared dictator. That happens in all revolutions. While the conflict of arms is going on, but simultaneously with the dictatorship, Aguinaldo declared his purpose to surrender it as soon as peace and order could be restored and liberty achieved, and as fast as that happened, peaceful and orderly local government took the place of military power.

Now, there are no historic facts more clearly established by historic testimony than these:

First, That these people were aiming at independence from the beginning.

Second, That they achieved independence.

Third, That our commanders, naval and military, our Secretary of War, our Administration at home, knew all the time that they were aiming, striving, at independence.

Fourth, That we encouraged them by every form of practical assurance.

I am speaking of what they had the right to take and understand as assurances that their independence was to be respected. Why, Aguinaldo proclaimed it a dozen times.

He announced a free constitution, an independent constitution, and established it all over the islands of Luzon and the Visayas, and these documents were immediately communicated to our commanders, and were by our commaders at once reported to Washington.

During that whole time, down to the end of December, 1898, when General Miller unwittingly, contrary to General Otis's desire, made public the order of the President, not a word of opposition or of contradiction came from American lips to them. If ever silence gave consent, if ever actions spoke louder than words, if ever conduct bound a nation, aye, if ever conduct bound a man of honor, the people of the United States are bound to respect the independence these people had achieved.

But silence and knowledge of the fact on our part were not all. We formed an alliance with Aguinaldo; our General wrote to him official letters asking his cooperation. Admiral Dewey denies, with some indignation, that he said the things which Aguinaldo relies on as forming an alliance, but the military commanders do not deny it; they confess it; they reported it to the Department of War and to the President. Twice did the commanding generals representing the United States give express assurance to that effect by their own confession.

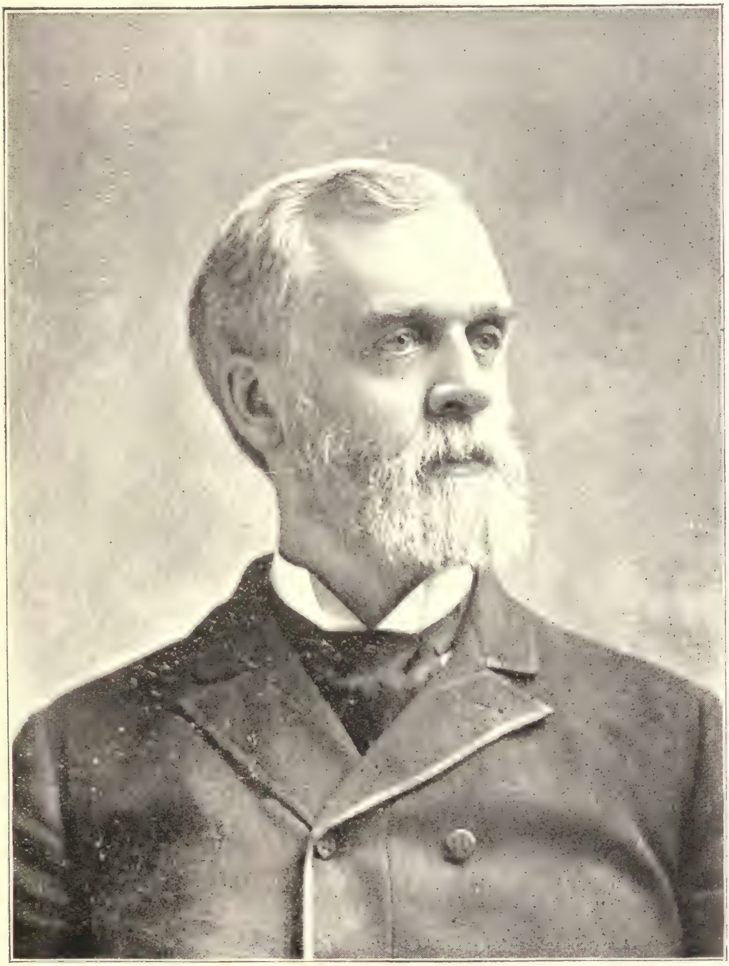
Suppose the United States in the progress of that war found the leader and president of the Filipino rebellion an exile from his country in Hongkong, and sent for him and brought him to the islands in an American ship, and then furnished him with 4,000 or 5,000 stands of arms, and allowed him to purchase as many more, and accepted his aid in conquering Manila, what kind of a nation, in the eyes of the world, should we appear to be to turn upon him and plunder him of the independence we had helped him to gain? What sort of a nation would we appear, in the eyes of the world to be, when we had accepted that aid, and he had conquered the entire country but one city, we knowing at the time that he and his people were striving for independence; what kind of a country should we appear to be to wrest from him that independence, to put his people under our feet, to declare that we never would let them go,whether they were fit for self-government or not, that we were there to get all we could, and to hold all we could get, and that if we had our way they should never have independence to the end of time? I I would as soon restore a redeemed soul to Satan as to plunder that people of the liberty for which they have fought.

Now, there is nothing more clearly proved in the whole history of these transactions than that the desire of the Filipinos for independence, both soldiers and people, was fully known during the whole of the year 1898 and down to the time of the breaking out of hostilities—to the President, to the Secretary of State, to our consuls, to Admiral Dewey, to General Otis, and down to a time long after the capture of Manila they knew that there was an unsuspecting confidenece on the part of the people that the United States had no desire to interfere with their liberty or their independence. They accepted their aid. They cooperated with them in military movements. They asked favors of them. They requested them to change their military positions for the convenience of our forces. They handed over to them prisoners of war by the thousands. They asked their advice. They gave our sick in hospitals over to their care. They made requests on them for military supplies. And not a word or a thought conveyed to them that they had any expectation but to cooperate with them against a common enemy, as an independ-

SERENO E. PAYNE.

Sereno E. Payne, Republican, of Auburn, N. Y., was born in Hamilton County, N. Y., on June 26, 1843. He entered the University of Rochester, and graduated therefrom in 1864. Studying law, he was admitted to the bar in 1866, and has since practiced his profession in Auburn, acquiring a large and lucrative practice, as member of the well known law firm of Payne, Van Sickle & Payne. He served as city clerk of Auburn for the years 1868-1871. In 1871-72, he served a term as supervisor of Auburn. Was elected district attorney of Cayuga County, and served from 1873 to 1879. From 1879 to 1882, he was president of the Auburn Board of Education. In 1881, he was elected a member of the Forty-eighth Congress for the Twenty-eighth New York District. He was re-elected to the Forty-ninth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth, Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses, to the last by a vote of 29,536, to 18,831 for John H. Young, Democrat, and 1,375 for John W. Berrus, Prohibitionist. In January, 1899, he was honored with an appointment as member of the American-British joint high commission, in which position he served with distinction throughout the various, tedious and somewhat vexatious labors devolving on the body.

As chairman of the important committee of Ways and Means of the Fifty-sixth Congress, Mr. Payne had fine opportunity to employ that industry, research, financial and economic knowledge, and great ability in the sifting and marshalling of facts, which had already contributed to his fame as a legislator and statesman. His reports were models of strength and perspicuity, carrying great weight on the floor. He served with equal vigor and distinction as a member of the new and very important committee on Insular Affairs. In the preliminary steps looking toward the organization of the House of the Fifty-sixth Congress, Mr. Payne's name was conspicuous among those likely to be chosen Speaker.



SERENO E. PAYNE.

GEORGE CLEMENT PERKINS.

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George Clement Perkins, Republican, of Oakland, Cal., was born at Kennebunkport, Me., in 1839; was reared on a farm, with limited educational advantages; at the age of 12 went to sea as a cabin boy; followed this calling and that of a sailor for several years; in 1855 shipped "before the mast" on a sailing vessel bound for San Francisco, Cal., where he arrived in the autumn of that year; engaged in mercantile business at Oroville and was very successful; subsequently engaged in banking, milling, mining, and the steamship business, in which he has been engaged during the past twenty-five years, operating steamships on the coasts of California, Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, Alaska, and Mexico; in 1868 was elected to the State Senate, serving eight years; has been president of the Merchants' Exchange in San Francisco; also of the San Francisco Art Association; is a director of California Academy of Sciences, and other public institutions; in 1879 he was elected Governor of California, serving until January, 1883; was appointed, July 24, 1893, United States Senator to fill, until the election of his successor, the vacancy caused by the death of Hon. Leland Stanford, and took his seat August 8, 1893. In January, 1895, having made a thorough canvass before the people of his State, he was elected by the legislature on the first ballot to fill the unexpired term. In the fall election of 1896 he was a candidate before the people of California for re-election, and received the indorsement of the Republican county conventions that comprised a majority of the senatorial and assembly districts in the State. When the legislature convened in joint convention (January, 1897) for the purpose of electing a United States Senator, he was re-elected on the first ballot, although at the time he was absent from the State attending to his Congressional duties. His term of service will expire March 3, 1903. Mr. Perkins has served as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Fisheries, and as member of the committees on Appropriations, Centennial Establishment of the Seat of Government at Washington, Education and Labor, Naval Affairs, Pacific Islands, and Coast and Insular Survey.

ent and as an equal ally. Whether the word ally was used—and of course no man questions the denial of Admiral Dewey—the substance of an alliance existed, and the substance of the thing was conveyed by the United States to the Philippine nation in a hundred ways.

They say Aguinaldo in the beginning established a dictatorship. So did we. The difference is he promised to abandon it when independence was achieved, accompanied it with a form of government, and the soldiers under his command were eager to give way to the civil power, even when there came what turned out to be a false rumor that independence was not to be interfered with by us.

We, on the other hand, steadfastly refused to promise anything for the future, and we refuse it now. The dictatorship for a short time of the trusted and beloved leader of a nation fighting for freedom and the dictatorship forever of a foreign country talking about Chinese trade and mountains of coal and nuggets of gold are very different things.

It seems to me that the Filipino leaders and the Filipino people have shown themselves, under difficult and trying conditions, as fit for freedom and self-government as any people south of us on the American continent from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn. I believe if we had dealt with them as it seems to me we ought to have dealt with them, they would have established their nation in constitutional liberty much more rapidly than has been done by any Spanish-speaking people. They devised an excellent constitution. They had a congress, they had courts, they had a president, they had a cabinet. Much less than this was declared by our imperialist friends sufficient to make Cuba a nation entitled to recognition. It is true they declared a dictatorship for their transition period, just as Bolivar did in the South American countries; just as Massachusetts did with her committee of safety during the first few years of the Revolutionary war. They had newspapers, schools, literature, statesmen. They have exhibited remarkable fighting qualities, considering the enormous superiority of the mighty antagonist with whom they had to deal. They are Christians. In their houses and churches are found books, paintings, and other works of art. I have no doubt that there was less illiteracy there than in many parts of the United States, and in all parts of the continent south of the United States at a very recent period. The State papers which these people have issued show a high degree of intelligence. Their communications to our generals, whether oral or written, while they show something undoubtedly of the attitude of weakness dealing with strength, are, on the whole, highly creditable to their sagacity.

An attempt has been made to shift the responsibility for this war to the men who resisted it. It has not been very successful. Now what was it that brought this thing to pass? What was it that substituted for the gratitude of that people when they pressed about our consuls and our soldiers early in the year 1898, welcoming them as deliverers, welcoming them almost as angels from heaven—a feeling first of doubt, then of suspicion, then of sullen dislike, then of fierce hatred, and finally culminating in war to the death? This people had gone joyously about the work of building up their republic. They had established local governments all over the islands. They were eager to learn the English language—the native language of freedom. They were studying the lives of our own great patriots and liberators. They had driven the Spaniards from their soil, save for a single city, and, whether right or wrong, they were confident of their capacity to capture that. They had been furnished with arms. Aguinaldo and his companions had been brought over, and the work for which they had been brought over and armed had been done. Now they find, first, a constant and contemptuous treatment in private of their soldiers by ours. They found also that the promises we were making them were vague and ambiguous. They found that the American press and American public speakers were beginning to talk less and less of liberty and more and more of trade. The words justice, freedom, righteousness seemed to be disappearing from our vocabulary. Then after the capture of Manila, when General Otis had declared that not more than 5,000 soldiers would be necessary to keep the peace in that entire archipelago of 1,200 islands, they saw we were hurrying over our reinforcements and increasing our naval and military strength. Then came the tone of demand and of authority. President McKinley had said again and again and again in public speech that we had no rightful title to a foot of the territory in those islands outside of the limits of Manila. And yet our generals were demanding with unconcealed threats the contraction of their lines and the expansion of ours. Then came the President's proclamation; the substitution for it by General Otis of one reaffirming the promises of independence, and the unfortunate accident by which both these proclamations came out together. How idle to attribute this condition of things, going on for seven months, to the effect of pamphlets and speeches made ten thousand miles away, most of them made long after this condition of things became established!

Another charge has been made. It is that by the delay in the Senate in ratifying the treaty of peace the rebellion in the Philippine Islands found some comfort and support. I have seen it stated a hundred times that if the Senate had promptly ratified the treaty there would have been no war. The Senate had ratified the treaty when Aguinaldo informed our generals in command that he regretted the outbreak of the 5th of February, and proposed to withdraw his troops to a greater distance; that he wanted no hostilities, and trusted there would be no more of them, and was met with the reply that as the fight had begun it must go on.

But this treaty, considering its importance, was before the Senate for a marvelously short time. It was before the Senate for a shorter time than a large majority of all treaties in our history, important or unimportant.

The trouble with our imperialistic friends is that they can not understand that conscience, patriotism, or love of liberty can exist in other men. If they would but put themselves in the place of the Filipinos; if they would but apply the golden rule to the relations between this country and this people—this people of the Eastern Hemisphere, from which the golden rule came in the beginning. If the Filipinos knew enough of what was going on in the United States to be moved, to risk life and everything that makes life dear in the hope that their liberty might be granted, from reading the speeches of political leaders, articles in the newspapers, or debates in the Senate, is it not quite likely that they may have heard also of the Declaration of Independence, of our Constitution, of the writings of Jefferson, of the speeches of Lincoln, and of recent Presidential utterances?

They tell us this question is settled. Is it settled? If it be settled, who settled it? Not the American people. The American people have never voted to change their government from a republic, by which every man has his equal share, into an empire governing ten or twelve million people, benevolently it may be, but in an absolutely unchecked despotism, without a single constitutional restraint. The American people have never voted that the Declaration of Independence is only a revolutionary pronunciamento which the men who made it have been constantly violating. They have never admitted yet that the Supreme Court of the United States was all wrong when, within ten years, they said that the Declaration of Independence was the spirit of our Government, of which the Constitution was only the form and letter. They have never declared as yet that George Washington and Thomas Jefferson and John Quincy Adams and Daniel Webster and Abraham Lincoln and Charles Sumner and John Marshall were false prophets. Congress has not settled it. You have not, so far, had a vote that we would undertake to rule unwilling and vassal States.

A little more than fourteen months ago there were presented to the Senate two propositions in sharp contrast with each other. One was a proposition to deal with the Philippine Islands as we dealt with Cuba; to assure them of their liberty; to protect them against foreign ambition and to lend our aid in restoring order; to speed them with our blessing on the pathway of freedom and independence, equal among independent nations, making such treaties with them for future commerce and intercourse as our advantage and theirs would require and as their good will and gratitude might be willing to grant.

The other way was to buy them up like slaves; to pay for them in gold; to set up against them the dishonored and discredited title of Spain, and to conquer them to a sullen submission and to a future of perpetual hatred and fear.

The Senate took its choice. We have had twelve months' experience. We can tell already something of the cost of this thing. It has cost us more than one hundred and fifty millions in money. But all this is the merest trifle. It has cost us the lives of 6,000 men who are dead. It has wrecked the lives of other thousands, victims of disease and of wounds. It compels us to maintain in the future a large and costly military and naval force.

You are to keep certainly, hereafter, 50,000 private soldiers, in the flower of their youth, in that tropical clime. What is to be their fate?

But let us look at the cost other than in money and life. We are to give up many of the ideals of the Republic. We must give up our great, priceless possessions; more precious than jewels or gold, more precious than land or power. The counsels of Washington are for us no longer; the truths of the Declaration of Independence are no longer our maxims of government; the Monroe doctrine, to which one hemisphere owes its freedom, is gone. The counsels of Lincoln to give effect to which he repeatedly declared he would welcome assassination itself, are not to be listened to hereafter, or, if listened to, it will be by other ears than ours.

Another thing we have lost by last winter's terrible blunder. We lost the right to speak with authority in favor of peace at The Hague. The world took, I hope and believe, a forward step in that great conference. But think what might have been! We have lost the right to offer our sympathy to the Boer in his wonderful and gallant struggle against terrible odds for the republic in Africa.

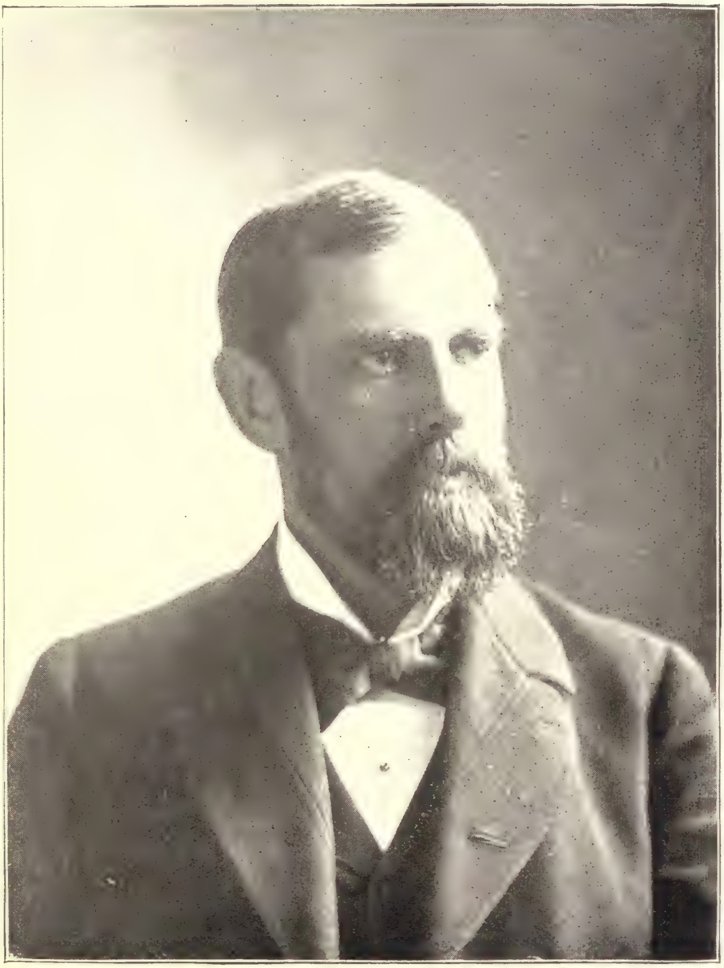
"O Freedom dear, if ever man was free,
In all the ages, earned thy favoring smile,
This patient man has earned it. In his cause
Pleads all the world to-day"—

all the world, except the nation that is engaged in crushing out a republic in the Philippines.

We have lost our power to speak with authority in behalf

RICHARD FRANKLIN PETTIGREW.

Richard Franklin Pettigrew, of the Silver Party, of Sioux Falls, S. Dak., was born at Ludlow, Vt., July, 1848; removed with his parents to Evansville, Rock County, Wis., in 1854; was prepared for college at the Evansville Academy, and entered Beloit College in 1866, where he remained two years; was a member of the law class of 1870, University of Wisconsin; went to Dakota in July, 1869, in the employ of a United States Deputy Surveyor, as a laborer; located in Sioux Falls, where he engaged in the surveying and real estate business; opened a law office in 1872, and has been in the practice of his profession since; was elected to the Dakota Legislature as a member of the council in 1877, and re-elected in 1879; was elected to the Forty-seventh Congress as Delegate from Dakota Territory; was elected to the Territorial council of 1884-85; was a member of the South Dakota constitutional convention of 1883; was chairman of the committee on public indebtedness, and framed the present provisions of the constitution on that subject; was elected United States Senator October 16, 1889, under the provisions of the act of Congress admitting South Dakota into the Union; took his seat December 2, 1889; was re-elected in 1895. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901. No member of his party has shown more zeal in upholding its tenets. On the floor of the Senate he has been ever alert, and few measures have escaped his pungent inquiries or failed to elicit his critical discussion. He has added to his regular floor duties those of membership of the committees on Transportation and Sale of Meat Products, whose chairmanship he held, Appropriations, Indian Affairs, Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, Public Lands, Relations with Canada, and Industrial Expositions.



RICHARD FRANKLIN PETTIGREW.

REDFIELD PROCTOR.

REDFIELD PROCTOR.

Redfield Proctor, of Proctor, was born at Proctorsville, Vermont, on June 1, 1831. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1851. Entered the Albany Law School and graduated thence. Engaged in the practice of law and was pursuing his profession with success when the Civil War broke out. In 1861 he enlisted in the Third Vermont Regiment of Volunteers, in which he served as lieutenant and quartermaster on the staff of Major-general William F. ("Baldy") Smith. Upon promotion, he served as major of the Fifth Regiment of Vermont Volunteers, and upon further promotion as colonel of the Fifteenth Vermont Regiment. He was engaged in active field duty until after the battle of Gettysburg, when his health broke down and he returned home. In 1867 he served as a member of the Vermont House of Representatives, and was re-elected for the terms of 1868 and 1888. He was elected to the Vermont Senate for the term of 1874-75, during which time he was president pro tempore of that body. Elected as lieutenant-governor of the State, and served in that capacity from 1876 to 1878. Chosen Governor of that State, and served from 1878 to 1880. In 1884 was sent as a delegate to the Republican National Convention. Was sent to the National Conventions of 1888 and 1896 as chairman of the Vermont delegation. In March, 1889, he was appointed Secretary of War by President Harrison, in which capacity he served with satisfaction until November, 1891, when he resigned from the cabinet to accept the appointment as United States Senator to succeed George F. Edmunds, who had resigned. On October 18, 1892, he was elected by the Legislature of Vermont to fill both the unexpired and full terms in the Senate. On October, 1898, he was elected to succeed himself for the term beginning March 4, 1899. His term will expire March 4, 1905. During his term he has served as chairman of the standing committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

of the disarmament of nations. We must prepare ourselves for a great standing army. We already hear the demand for a large standing army, and a navy equal to that of England. The American child hereafter must be born with a mortgage round his neck. The American laborer hereafter must stagger through life with a soldier on his back.

But we are told if we oppose the policy of our imperialistic and expanding friends we are bound to suggest some policy of our own as a substitute for theirs. We are asked what we would do in this difficult emergency. It is a question not difficult to answer. I for one am ready to answer it.

1. I would declare now that we will not take these islands to govern them against their will.

2. I would reject a cession of sovereignty which implies that sovereignty may be bought and sold and delivered without the consent of the people. Spain had no rightful sovereignty over the Philippine Islands. She could not rightfully sell it to us. We could not rightfully buy it from her.

3. I would require all foreign governments to keep out of these islands.

4. I would offer to the people of the Philippines our help in maintaining order until they have a reasonable opportunity to establish a government of their own.

5. I would aid them by advice, if they desire it, to set up a free and independent government.

6. I would invite all the great powers of Europe to unite in an agreement that that independence shall not be interfered with by us, by themselves, or by any one of them with the consent of the others.

7. I would declare that the United States will enforce the same doctrine as applicable to the Philippines that we declared

as to Mexico and Haiti and the South American Republics.

8. I would then, in a not distant future, leave them to work out their own salvation, as every nation on earth, from the beginning of time, has wrought out its own salvation.

9. I would strike out of your legislation the oath of allegiance to us and substitute an oath of allegiance to their own country.

My friends say they are willing to trust the people and the future. And so am I. I love and trust the American people. I yield to no man in my confidence in the future of the Republic. To me the dearest blessings of life, dearer than property, dearer than home, dearer than kindred, are my pride in my country and my hope for the future of America. But the people that I trust is the people that established the Constitution and which abides by its restraints. The people that I trust is the people that made the great Declaration and their children, who mean forever to abide by its principles. The country in whose future I have supreme and unbounded confidence is the Republic, not a despotism on the one hand, or an unchecked and unlicensed democracy on the other. It is no mere democracy. It is the indissoluble union of indestructible States. I disavow and spurn the doctrine that has been more than once uttered by the advocates of this policy of imperialism on the floor of the Senate, that the sovereignty of the American people is inferior to any other because it is restrained and confined within constitutional boundaries.

I know how imperfectly I have stated this argument. I know how feeble is a single voice amid this din and tempest, this delirium of empire. It may be that the battle for this day is lost. But I have an assured faith in the future. I have an assured faith in justice and the love of liberty of the American people. The stars in their courses fight for freedom. The Ruler of the heavens is on that side. If the battle to-day go against it, I appeal to another day, not distant and sure to come. I appeal from the clapping of hands and the stamping of feet and the brawling and the shouting to the quiet chamber where the Fathers gathered in Philadelphia. I appeal from the spirit of trade to the spirit of liberty. I appeal from the Empire to the Republic. I appeal from the millionaire, and the boss, and the wire-puller, and the manager to the statesman of the elder time, in whose eyes a guinea never glistened, who lived and died poor, and who left to his children and to his countrymen a good name far better than riches. I appeal from the present, bloated with material prosperity, drunk with the lust of empire, to another and a better age. I appeal from the Present to the Future and to the Past.

George F Hoar

PHILIPPINE RIVALRY.

By HON. F. G. NEWLANDS,
Member of Congress, Nevada.

THE prospect that 9,000,000 of Filipinos may become dangerous rivals of our own in the industrial field is a present menace to our people and a threat to the prosperity of our wage earners.

Such information as we are able to gather seems to point to the conclusion that the natives of our newly acquired archipelago in the Far East possess a high degree of intelligence alertness and industrial adaptability.

They are quick with their heads and with their hands, in such ways resembling the Japanese.

Of course, we know that if Japan were annexed to this country and put inside our tariff wall, making absolute free trade between our ports and her own, a large part of the manufactured goods now made in the United States would soon be produced over there, while at the same time the accession of cheap Japanese labor within our tariff boundary would create an industrial revolution here.

The same danger, in a less degree, perhaps, is to be apprehended from the annexation of the Philippines, unless the revolutionary doctrine is sustained that the Constitution does not apply to the entire domain of the republic, but merely to the states composing the Union.

Following the annexation of the Philippines will come a great influx into those islands of American capital, which will be employed partly in the production of sugar and tobacco, affecting in some degree our own interests in the raising of those staples, but partly also in manufacturing industries.

At first such industries will be intended only to supply local demands in the archipelago, but, as the aptitude of the natives for pursuits of this kind is developed and the advantages of cheap labor are realized, the business of manufacturing for export to the United States will begin to grow.

Once started, there can be no doubt that it will advance with giant strides, transpacific freight rates being so low as to offer little hindrance.

Thus it appears that while, under the conditions suggested, the sugar and tobacco of the Philippines will compete with ours in our own markets, we shall have no compensating opportunity for the sale of our products in the archipelago.

Probably, instead of buying our manufactures, the Filipinos will ship theirs to us, the balance of trade turning largely against us.

Such a prospect is far from pleasant, and we ought to consider it with all seriousness as bearing upon the wisdom of the policy of absorption which is now so widely advocated. From our view-point to-day we can hardly measure the possible extent of this industrial competition or prescribe its limits.

Another point to be considered is that the Filipinos will have access to the United States.

It has been argued that being accustomed to a tropical climate they will not want to come here; but I imagine that in this regard they will yield to the persuasion of speculative American capital, just as the Chinese did prior to the exclusion act, when their labor was sought by Pacific railroad contractors, and just as Japanese labor responds to the invitation of Sandwich Island planters.

Besides, it must be considered that a large part of this country has a climate sufficiently warm to be very satisfactory to the Filipinos, who would not suffer from a change of residence to California, Arizona, New Mexico or the Southern States.

American labor is now on stilts, one might say, as compared with the rest of the world. It has been able to maintain itself at its present elevation by the aid of laws restraining the importation of the products of cheap foreign labor, and preventing the wholesale migration of cheap laborers into this country from abroad.

It is easy to imagine what will be the effect of putting inside of our governmental and industrial system nine millions of people possessing a high degree of industrial aptitude and accustomed to a scale of wages and a mode of living appropriate to Asiatics.

Is it putting the matter too strongly to suggest the likelihood of an industrial revolution as a result of so perilous an experiment?

We may suppose that at first the natives of the archipelago, taken inside of our tariff wall, would turn to the production of cotton goods and possibly silk fabrics, but the quickness of their heads and hands would soon enable them to adapt themselves to almost any kind of manufacturing.

It is likely, too, that after a while they would become dangerous competitors of ours in the growing of cotton, inasmuch as the islands are well suited, in respect to both soil and climate, for the production of that staple.

For reasons of her own, Spain made it a part of her policy to discourage cotton growing in the Philippines; otherwise it is probable that his industry would already be flourishing in the archipelago.

In our own Southern States at the present time an expec-

MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY.

Matthew Stanley Quay was born in Dillsburg, York County, Pa., September 30, 1833; was prepared for college at Beaver and Indiana academies; was graduated from Jefferson College in 1850; was admitted to the bar in 1854; was elected prothonotary of Beaver County in 1856 and re-elected in 1859; was a lieutenant in Tenth Pennsylvania Reserves; was colonel of the One hundred and thirty-fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers; was lieutenant-colonel and assistant commissary-general; was military State agent at Washington; was private secretary to the Governor of Pennsylvania; was major and chief of transportation and telegraphs; was military secretary to the Governor of Pennsylvania, 1861-1865; was a member of the legislature 1865-1867; was secretary of the Commonwealth, 1872-1878; was recorder of the city of Philadelphia and chairman of the Republican State Committee, 1878-79; was secretary of the Commonwealth, 1879-1882; was delegate at large to the Republican National Conventions of 1872, 1876, and 1880; was elected State treasurer in 1885; was elected a member of the Republican National Committee and chosen chairman thereof and ex officio chairman of the executive committee when the committee organized in July, 1888, and conducted the successful Presidential campaign of that year; was a delegate to the Republican National Convention of 1892 and voted against the renomination of Benjamin Harrison; was elected to the United States Senate as a Republican, to succeed John I. Mitchell, and took his seat March 4, 1887, and was re-elected in 1893. At the expiration of his term of service in 1899, he was again a candidate for re-election, but failed through a division in his party. On the adjournment of the legislature, he was appointed to the Senate by Governor Stone, but the Senate refused to recognize the validity of the appointment by one majority. Recently Mr. Quay gave up his home in Beaver and moved to his mansion at Mountville, Lancaster Co., Pa.

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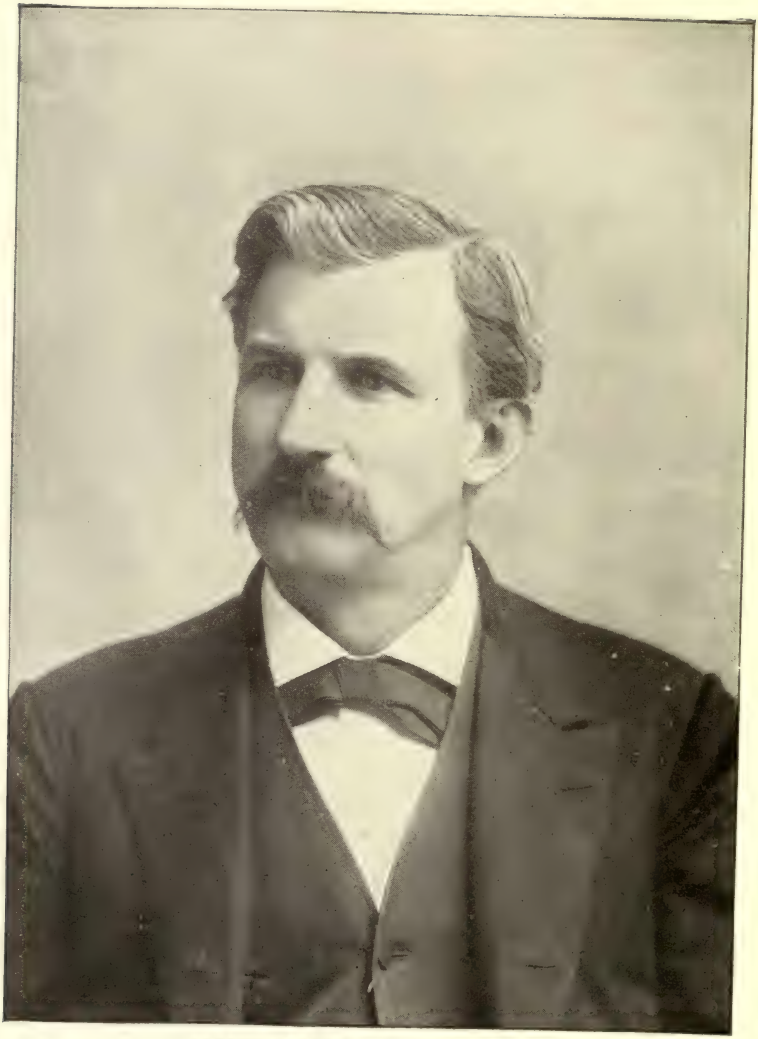
MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY.



JAMES DANIEL RICHARDSON.

JAMES DANIEL RICHARDSON.

James Daniel Richardson, Democrat, of Murfreesboro, Tenn., was born in Rutherford County, Tenn., March 10, 1843; was educated at good country schools; was at Franklin College, near Nashville, when the war began, and entered the Confederate army at 18 years of age, before graduating; served in the army nearly four years, the first year as private and the remaining three as adjutant of the Forty-fifth Tennessee Infantry; read law after the war and began practice January 1, 1867, at Murfreesboro; was elected to the lower house of the Tennessee Legislature, took his seat in October, 1871, and on the first day was elected speaker of the house, he being then only 28 years of age; was elected to the State Senate the following session, 1873-74; was grand master of Masons in Tennessee, 1873-74; grand high priest of the Grand Chapter, Royal Arch Masons, of the State, 1882; is inspector-general (active member) Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, thirty-third degree, in Tennessee, and Lieutenant Grand Commander of the Supreme Council; was a delegate to the St. Louis Democratic Convention in 1876, and also to the Chicago Democratic Convention in 1896; editor and compiler of Messages and Papers of the Presidents; was elected to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth, and Fifty-fifth Congresses for the Fifth District of Tennessee, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, receiving 12,059 votes, to 4,860 for W. Y. Elliot, Republican. In the Fifty-sixth Congress Mr. Richardson, by virtue of his ability in debate and knowledge of parliamentary law, readily became the leader of his party in the House. He also served as an energetic and conspicuous member on the important committees of Ways and Means, and Rules.

tation is indulged that the Filipinos will open a market for American cotton, but my belief is that this hope will never be realized. It is much more likely that they will become rivals of ours in the business of cotton growing.

The problem is a very serious one, and, before arriving at a decision, we ought to realize the fact that the permanent acquisition of the Philippines as a part of the American empire means that the islands must be governed in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, which will secure uniform tariff laws and freedom of emigration all over our territory, the natives of that distant archipelago being placed on the same footing with ourselves.

RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

By BISHOP HENRY C. POTTER,
New York.

IT was as a representative of the Joint Commission on the Increased Responsibilities of the Church, of which Bishop Potter is a member, that he made a tour of the world from which he has just returned. A most interesting feature in this connection is that before his visit to the Philippines Bishop Potter was a pronounced "anti-imperialist."—Ed.

He now furnishes the following:

The religious situation in the Philippines is such as was to be expected in a colony of Spain. She has stamped her ecclesiastical traditions, narrow, intolerant and often corrupting, wherever she has gone, and she has gone almost everywhere, among all the various islands of the archipelago, great and small. Worst of all, her religious orders, except, perhaps the Jesuits, have robbed the people, wrung from them their lands and taxed the administration of the sacraments and ordinances of religion with a scale of exactions and impositions at once scandalous and outrageous. No marriage, e. g., can be celebrated by a priest of the Roman obedience, without (a) a certificate from both parties of baptism; (b) of confirmation; (c) of a confession to a priest immediately preceding the marriage; as well as a certificate of marriage, all of which must be severally and separately paid for, and for which the charge is in each case from $5 to $8.

It is only necessary to visit the Philippine Islands to see, in the obvious and extreme poverty of the great mass of the people, their utter inability, ordinarily, to pay any such charges; which charges are fixed by the archbishop, who, it is understood, divides their proceeds with the clergy who collect them. It need not, therefore, surprise any one acquainted with the fact that thousands of people are living practically in a state of concubinage, in which, to their honor be it said, men and women maintain, generally, conditions of marital fidelity, and in which, curiously enough, they are not refused the greater sacrament.

An ecclesiastical discipline which permits such wrongs not unnaturally permits others of even larger proportions. One wonders, as he hears the history of long continued wrong and robberies by means of which the friars have dispossessed the Filipinos of their homes, seized their lands and practically driven them forth under the pretext of exacting the church's dues, whether those who have done these things could ever have read the burning language of the Hebrew Prophet addressed to men of their type! It is no wonder that at last an outraged people revolted, and that, having appealed in vain to their own civil government for either protection or redress they should have risen against their oppressors.

If these islands are to be retained, and we are constrained to own, however we may have differed from any of our associates as to the wisdom of originally entering upon them, that no other course seems for the present open to the United States, these wrongs and the righting of them lie at the foundation of the whole Philippine problem. It will be a colossal blunder if any delicacy as to the policy which may affect or offend a particular vote, important to any political party, is allowed to obscure the facts or to paralyze our action. We must do justly in the Philippines, or God will have no use for us, and our presence there will inevitably redound ao our national dishonor.

It is a relief to turn from this aspect of the religious situation in the Philippines to that other presented by the work of our representatives there, and to the abundant tokens of their wisdom and success. As yet they are few in number, but under the most wise and self-sacrificing leadership of the Rev. C. C. Pierce, a chaplain of the United States Army, they have laid the foundation of a work of singular foresight and comprehensiveness. Mr. Pierce might properly have confined himself to his duties as a regimental chaplain; but from the beginning he has been the pastor and servant of all sorts and conditions of men, organizing congregation for the citizens of the United States temporarily resident in or near Manila; another for the Filipinos, counselling, teaching, baptizing, ministering as a physician to the sick and dying, and giving, when otherwise it would have been impossible to secure Christian burial to their dead. It is impossible to exaggerate the services of this rare man, whose heroic and untiring ministries are a crown of glory to the church whose son he is, and who has won from his countrymen in Manila, of all ranks and callings, and from the island people, to whom most surely God has sent him, universal love and honor.

Henry C. Potter.

THE OPEN DOOR.

WHILE this problem is proper to the domain of diplomacy, American diplomacy is always at its best when it reflects a sound public sentiment. No diplomatic problem, however intricate or deep can escape popular surveillance in the end. For some years the great powers of Europe have presumed upon the early disintegration of China, and determined to be in at the death, to grab whatever portions they could. It was foreign to the policy of the United States to wish for such disintegration, to hasten it by rapacious spoliation, or to profit by it after the manner of grasping European brigands. And yet our interests, commercial and otherwise, were large, nearly as large as any, in China. Moreover, they were protected by sacred treaties with the Chinese government. But if the government went to pieces, and the empire were portioned among foreign land grabbers, our treaty rights would avail nothing, and our commerce and every other interest would be at the mercy of foreign spoliators. Though Great Britain had treaty rights similar to our own, and likewise large commercial and landed cessions, she saw a predicament ahead similar to our own, and three years ago made overtures to the respective powers to acknowledge and protect her treaty, and other rights, in case of China's dismemberment. Her overtures were refused, because she had already encroached upon China more than any other power, save, perhaps, Russia, and was continualy present in great naval strength for her own protection. This did not deter the United States, which

ELIHU ROOT.

Elihu Root was born in Clinton, N. Y., February 15, 1845, son of Dr. Oren Root, for many years professor of mathematics in Hamilton College. Was graduated at Hamilton, '64, valedictorian of his class. Taught for a year, after leaving college, in the Academy at Rome, near Clinton, and then took a course at the University Law School in New York City, and was admitted to the bar in 1867. He first served an apprenticeship in the office of Man & Parsons. His first law partner was John H. Strahan, and his next partnership was with Willard Bartlett, who became a justice of the supreme court. His first case of importance was the suit of the People vs. Ingersoll, in which he successfully contended against Charles O'Conor's theory that the State instead of the county was the proper party to sue for money alleged to have been taken from the county.

He became active in politics, and in 1879 successfully ran as the Republican candidate for judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He became a leader in the Republican organization of his assembly district, and in 1886 and 1887 was the chairman of the Republican County Committee. President Arthur appointed Mr. Root United States District-Attorney for the Southern District of New York, and he held that office two years. He was chairman of the judiciary committee of the State Constitutional Convention in 1894. Mr. Root was counsel for William M. Tweed on the exposure of the Tweed ring methods. He was counsel for ex-Judge Hilton in the Stewart will cases, and for the executors in the Hoyt and Havemeyer will cases, and for the contestants in the Hamersley will case. He is a member of the Bar Association; was president of the Republican Club of New York a few years ago; and succeeded General Horace Porter as president of the Union League Club in 1898. Appointed Secretary of War by President McKinley, August 1, 1899, to succeed General Alger.

ELIHU ROOT.

WILLIAM J. SEWELL.

WILLIAM J. SEWELL.

William J. Sewell, Republican, of Camden, N. J., was born in Ireland in 1835, and came to this country at an early age; engaged in mercantile pursuits, and at the outbreak of the civil war was commissioned as captain in the Fifth New Jersey Volunteers; served during the war and was brevetted brigadier-general for distinguished services at Chancellorsville and major-general for gallant services during the war; was wounded at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg; after the war he became connected with the railroads in New Jersey, branches of the Pennsylvania Railroad system; was elected State Senator from Camden County in 1872, re-elected in 1875 and again in 1878, and was president of the Senate in the years 1876, 1879, and 1880, when his party was in power; while yet a member of the legislature he was elected to the United States Senate in 1881, as the successor of Senator Theodore F. Randolph, and served until the close of his term, in 1887; was elected as a delegate to the Republican National Conventions of 1876, 1880, 1884, 1888, 1892, and 1896, and on each occasion was made chairman of his delegation; was one of the national commissioners for New Jersey of the World's Fair at Chicago; is vice president of the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers; is in command of the National Guard of New Jersey, and also connected with the management of various banks, trust companies, and philanthropic societies; was appointed major-general upon the declaration of war against Spain, but, at the unanimous request of the Republican members of the Senate, did not take the field; was again elected to the United States Senate in 1895, to succeed Hon. John R. McPherson, Democrat. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901. Mr. Sewell has added with satisfaction to his other senatorial duties, those of chairman of the Senate Committee on Enrolled Bills, and member of the committees on Appropriations, Military Affairs, Territories, Inter-oceanic Canals, and Immigration.

was differently situated and had no designs on China's territory, from tendering the overtures for herself. After much delicate and intricate diplomacy, the effort was rewarded by an agreement duly signed, of Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Russia and Japan, to preserve the existing rights of the United States no matter what might happen to China. The feat ranks as one of the greatest diplomatic triumphs of the century. Yet, while on its face "The Open Door" seems assured, the issues respecting it may be only beginning, for no one can say how far the ambitious and greedy powers will respect their agreements in the future, nor what will be the result of their chagrin when they find that the triumph of American diplomacy has, in all probability, put a damper on the attempts to dismember the Chinese Empire.

And again, even if their rapacity be checked, and China be allowed to remain intact, they will not have advantaged themselves in Chinese respect, and consequently will have lost a prime commercial point when the United States begins its destined competition for the trade of the Orient, through and by means of the waters of the Pacific. If China chose to show favoritism, it would more likely be to a nation directly across a single ocean, than to one only reachable by devious and lengthy ocean paths; and, moreover, more likely to one which preferred relations with her, based on fair treaty understandings, than with those whose relations have been ever of the forceful and threatening kind, and who stood in vulture watch for the moment when her dismembered parts might become desired prey, to be greedily snatched by the swiftest and strongest.

THE OPEN DOOR AND COMMERCIAL EXPANSION.

By CHARLES EMORY SMITH,
Postmaster General.

SINCE 1870, while our population has doubled, our manufactures have quadrupled. Our producing capacity is up to and beyond the measure of our consuming ability and is increasing faster.

Though we are foremost in industrial growth yet all the great nations have been advancing rapidly, and it is estimated that, under the application of modern forces and of improved machinery, the producing capacity of the world is such that, if operated to its full extent ten hours a day, enough would be produced in six months to supply the world's demand for a year. Just now, with the great revival of business following the depression and the depletion which went on from 1893 to 1897, the production may not outrun the demand. But it is the part of prudence to deal with broad and lasting conditions, and to prepare to-day for the requirements of to-morrow.

What, then, are we to do? Are we to restrict our production? Are we to run mill and factory on reduced time, with the necessary sequences of lower wages, smaller profits and wide discontent? Or are we to provide for this enormous and expanding output by supplementing our own vast, but unequal measure of consumption with new outlets and new markets? Under this stress and in this rivalry the other great nations are struggling for empire, and making opportunities for trade. They are eagerly extending their colonial dependencies in order to make new regions tributary to their commerce. England has raised her flag over 16,000,000 square miles of domain, with more than 300,000,000 people; France holds 2,500,000 square miles, with a population of nearly 50,000,000, and Germany has secured 1,600,000 square miles, with more than 7,000,000 inhabitants.

The United States has no need to engage in this territorial rivalry with the object of commercial opportunity. We have made an opportunity larger than all these in securing the open door in China. There we find the greatest potential new market in the world. There we find a population of three to four hundred millions who are just breaking away from their old barriers and coming into the sphere of the world's trade. The annual imports of China are less than fifty cents a head. When Japan entered upon her new career her imports did not exceed that small ratio, but within a few years and under her new impulse they have increased to six dollars a head. Let China advance in the same proportion and her imports will rise to $1,500,000,000 a year—more than the United States now sends to all the nations of the world. Give us an equal chance and a merchant marine, and we shall secure a large share of that coming traffic. The open door gives us an equal chance; the merchant marine should become a great feature of our public policy, and every other advantage we already have. We are nearest China; we hold the other coast of the Pacific; we have secured the natural stations on the way across, and that great ocean is our legitimate highway of commerce.

Our exports to China and Japan have increased 256 per cent, in the last ten years. The largest part of that increase has come within the last three years. The movement thus inaugurated can, with care and wise direction, be multiplied tenfold. China wants our wheat and flour; she wants our cotton goods; she wants our oil; she wants our fabrics of iron and steel; she wants our rails and locomotives and equipment for the thousands of miles of railroads she will construct within the coming period. The Southern States have a special interest in the acquisition of this market. It offers the most important outlet for their growing cotton industries. In nine months of last year China imported from the United States 182,875,000 yards of plain American cotton goods against 112,480,000 yards for the same period of 1898. The imports from England for the same time showed an actual decline. In 1898 the cotton imports into China from the United States were 37 per cent. of those from England. In 1899 they were 61 per cent. At that rate of increase how long, if we rightly use our opportunity, will it take the United States to become foremost in the Chinese market? The possibilities of that market are incalculable. In 1886 Japan purchased foreign goods to the value of only $16,000,000. Last year her purchases rose to $137,000,000. What boundless fields lie before us in China and all the Orient, if we are not so weak and blind as to throw them away!

The open door in China is the open sesame of this vast possible trade, and the American accomplishment of the open door, with the consent and pledge of all the great nations, and without the necessity of entering into any territorial division, is the greatest of all recent achievements of diplomacy. It secures for the United States a commercial opportunity which is immeasurable. It provides one of the greatest outlets which our industrial supremacy and our enormous producing capacity require. And that achievement is the great and magnificent fruit of our triumph at Manila and our possession of the Philippines. It comes because we have established our footing in the Orient, because we have planted ourselves for a thousand miles along the front of China, and because we have taken a new position as a world power. Such a demand on our part two years ago would have been impotent and fruitless. Three years ago England proposed the policy of the open door in China and failed, and was compelled in protection of her interests to declare that she would join in the scheme of division and claim her sphere of influence. But when the United States unfurled her flag in the Philippines and made the world resound with the echoes of her swift success and her brilliant triumphs on the sea, and then put forward the same demand of an open door it met with a prompt and full acceptance. Nay, more, it is not too much to say that our possession of the Philippines has stayed the threatened dismemberment of China, and has perhaps altogether averted that danger. But whether China is to be divided and parcelled among the struggling and competing nations, or whether she is to remain intact with the possibilities of a great development, the guarantee of the open door which has been given to us, secures our rights and our interests in the coming time. No fancy can overestimate the value of that achievement in its relations to our future commercial advancement. The potency of that commercial opportunity is worth immeasurably more than all the cost of the Spanish war and all the cost of the subsequent conflict in the Philippines.

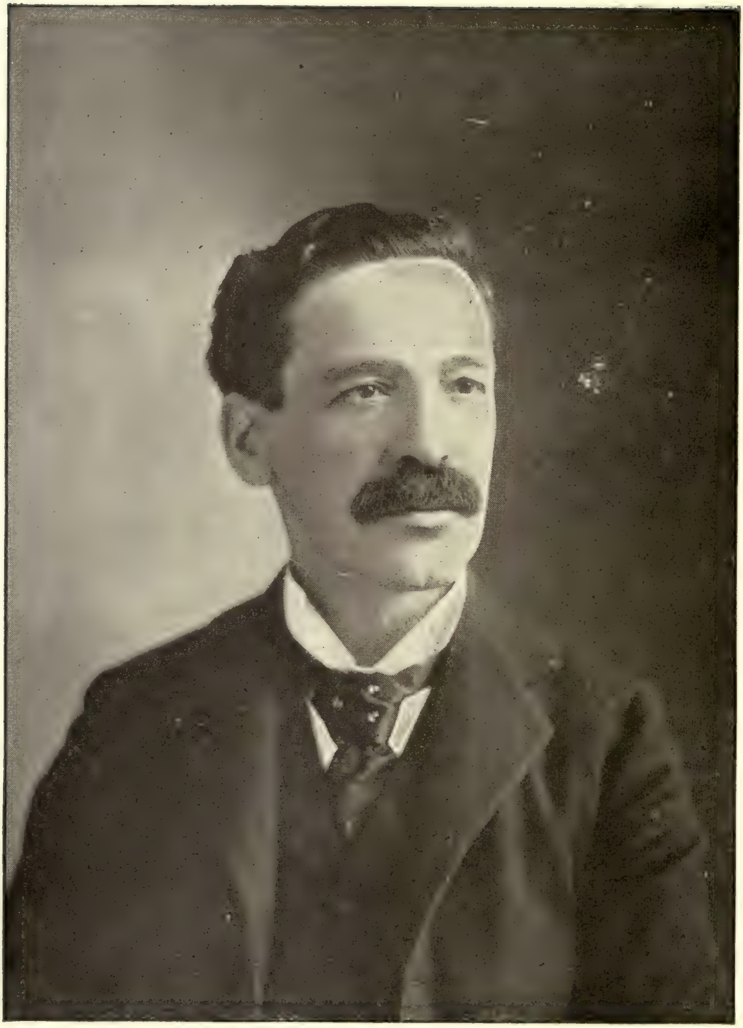
I might dwell upon the value of the Philippines themselves. I might speak of the enlarged trade which is offered in their own fertility and their own richness when once brought under the peaceful sway of good government and of civilizing development. But valuable as they are, their highest significance lies in the fact that they give us a foothold in the Orient and constitute a commercial and naval base, at the very vestibule of China, for a commercial opportunity and expansion which were far beyond our wildest dreams two years ago. If we were to falter in the policy we have undertaken, if we were to shrink from the responsibility which, without our seeking, has come upon us, we should lose all the prestige of that splendid triumph and should sacrifice all that we have gained as its precious fruit. We should find that the door which has been opened to us would soon be closed, for a nation which does not respect itself, and which does not appreciate its own destiny, will not be respected by others. We should find ourselves with the almost unbounded producing capacity which I have imperfectly described, a capacity already beyond our consuming ability and growing much faster, and at the same time cut off in large measure from the new outlets and new markets which it requires and without which it must be curtailed and crippled.

The great farming interests of the country have a vital concern in this question. We outstrip the world in industrial equipment, but other nations have land as fertile and productive. As recently as 1885, Argentina produced only 14,000,000 bushels of wheat a year; now she grows 60,000,000. Our wheat fields find export rivals in Argentina, Russia and India. Our farmers thus have need, as well as our manufacturers, of the new outlet of China. Every bushel of wheat and every barrel of flour shipped from the Pacific coast across the western ocean relieves the competition at Liverpool, which fixes the price. Above all, the farmers are supremely interested that our industrial power shall be maintained at its highest capacity. They are prosperous when our manufactures are prosperous; they find the best demand when our mills and factories are busiest, and any failure of our industrial production to find full consumption would be a disastrous blow to their welfare. In the same way the interests of the workingmen

GEORGE LAIRD SHOUP.

George Laird Shoup, Republican, of Salmon City, Idaho, was born at Kittanning, Armstrong County, Pa., June 15, 1836; was educated in the public schools of Freeport and Slate Lick; moved with his father to Illinois in June, 1852; was engaged in farming and stock raising near Galesburg until 1858; removed to Colorado in 1859; was engaged in mining and mercantile business until 1861; in September, 1861, enlisted in Captain Backus's independent company of scouts, and was soon thereafter commissioned second lieutenant; during the autumn and winter of 1861 was engaged in scouting along the base of the Rocky Mountains; was ordered to Fort Union, N. Mex., in the early part of 1862; was kept on scouting duty on the Canadian, Pecos, and Red rivers until the spring of 1863, and during this time was promoted to a first lieutenancy; was then ordered to the Arkansas river; was assigned to the First Colorado Regiment of Cavalry in May, 1863; in 1864 was elected to the constitutional convention to prepare a constitution for the proposed State of Colorado and obtained a leave of absence for thirty days to serve as a member of said convention; after performing this service he returned to active duty in the army; was commissioned colonel of the Third Colorado Cavalry in September, 1864, and was mustered out in Denver with the regiment at the expiration of term of service; engaged in the mercantile business in Virginia City, Mont., in 1866, and during the same year established a business at Salmon City, Idaho; since 1866 has been engaged in mining, stock raising, mercantile, and other business in Idaho, was a member of the Territorial Legislature during the eighth and tenth sessions; was a delegate to the National Republican Convention in 1880; was a member of the Republican National Committee from 1880 to 1884; was United States Commissioner for Idaho at the World's Cotton Centennial Exposition at New Orleans, La., in 1884-85; was again placed on the Republican National Committee in 1888, re-elected in 1892 and again in 1896; was appointed Governor of Idaho Territory in March, 1889, which position he held until elected Governor of the State of Idaho, October 1, 1890; was elected to the United States Senate December 18, 1890, and took his seat December 29, 1890; was re-elected in 1895. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901.

GEORGE LAIRD SHOUP.



JOSEPH SIMON.

JOSEPH SIMON.

Joseph Simon, Republican, of Portland, Oregon, was born in Germany in 1851, and came to this country with his parents when but one year old; has resided in the city of Portland since 1857; obtained his education in the public schools of Portland; in 1872 was admitted to the bar; was elected to the city council of Portland in 1877, and served as a member of that body three years; was appointed secreetary of the Republican Central Committee in 1878, and managed the State campaign of that year; was chosen chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Oregon in 1880, 1884, and 1886, and had charge of the State and National campaigns of those years in Oregon; was a delegate to the Republican National Convention which met at Minneapolis in 1892, and was there selected as the member of the national committee for Oregon; was elected to the State Senate from Multnomah County in 1880, 1884, 1888, 1894, and 1898; was chosen president of the senate at the sessions of 1889, 1891, 1895, and 1897, and at the special session of 1898; was elected to the United States Senate October 6, 1898, to fill a vacancy that had existed since March 4, 1897. His term of service will expire March 3, 1903. Mr. Simon has honorably supplemented his usual senatorial duties with those of chairmanship of the committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, and with membership on the committees on Centennial and the Establishment of the Seat of Government in Washington, Judiciary, Mines and Mining, Revolutionary Claims, To Investigate the Condition of the Potomac River Front at Washington, Public Buildings and Grounds, and To Investigate Trespassers on Indian Lands.

are bound up with this great national movement to secure new outlets. Make new markets and keep your productive power fully employed, and labor gets its highest reward; but restrict your production because you will not seek or accept new channels of consumption, and labor suffers with the rest.

Our pathway is determined by our requirements. The country has grown up to this step, and its growth cannot be stopped. Commercial development is the inevitable necessity of our agricultural and manufacturing supremacy. The demands of our industrial position compel us to enter upon commercial expansion. We are the greatest producers and the greatest consumers in the world; yet, unparalleled as is our consuming ability, our wonderful and unrivaled producing capacity has outstripped and outrun even our amazing power of absorption. Do you want the proof? In the mighty business impulse of last year we employed and consumed in our own use more than ever before, yet at the same time we exported more manufactured products than ever before. We imported $100,000,000 less of manufactured goods than in 1890, and exported nearly $200,000,000 more. If we had not found more outlets, what would have become of our surplus? With our surpassing power of production, with our farms and forges and factories turning out more than we can consume, with our matchless inventive and mechanical genius steadily increasing our productive energy, with our wealth of yet untouched resources which must in the future put us still further in the lead of all nations, we have only one of two courses before us.

Either we must halt our growth, limit our production, bank our fires and stop our spindles, reduce our labor and restrict our capital, with all the hardship that this involves, or else we must find broader markets and expanded consumption. Do you tell me there is cost and possible difficulty in this extension abroad? But is there not greater cost and loss in a paralyzing restriction at home? Do you tell me there are risks and perplexities in this policy of commercial expansion? But are there not greater and graver perplexities and dangers, which may only be suggested, in a policy of industrial contraction?

Let us fully realize the mighty facts of our national situation. Had there been no war with Spain, had the new and glorious May morn of American liberty never shed its luster over the Bay of Manila, had no victory of Santiago brought a brilliant triumph of peace charged with great responsibilities, we should still have been compelled to look beyond our continental bounds. It was inevitable that we should advance out of our isolation and turn our faces outward to the world. Our transcendent industrial growth and its imperative need of outlets demanded it.

If the immortal history of the past two years were blotted out, we should make that commercial effort with no such advantages and no such resplendent possibilities as now beckon us onward. There would be no prestige and impress of an ever-floating flag in the Orient. There would be no key to Asia in our hands. There would be no open door in China. Events have ruled us, and it is for us only to rule their results.

Territorial expansion has not been and is not now the object of American ambition. What we have done has been the inescapable, overmastering logic of events and not the deliberate aim of any policy. It has been enough to give us such a position and opportunity in the East as a hundred years of ordinary history would not have brought, and there is no need of more. But even had there been no such glittering chapter, our continued material advancement would have required us to extend the arms of our commerce across the seas, and commerce means a navy and outposts and defense. It means a part in the world's affairs, and the future historian, in portraying the magnificent progress of the Republic, will dwell upon the manifest guidance of a power higher than any chance in the great and pregnant fact that just as it reached the stage of its development where its industrial upbuilding needed to be crowned with commercial extension, the unforseen and mighty events of the Spanish war suddenly lifted the curtain and unveiled the new prospect, the wider horizon and the unexpected and immeasurable opportunity.

Ch Emory Smith

THE OPENING OF THE DOOR.

By HON. JOHN HAY,
Secretary of State.

BY treaty stipulations the United States enjoys in Chinese territory and in the ports of the empire four distinct rights: (1) Exterritoriality: that is, American subjects can only be sued and tried in their own consular courts; (2) In certain ports and settlements they have a right to own property, where realty passes under consular jurisdiction; (3) Their trade pays duty by a treaty which can only be altered with the consent of the United States, and these duties are collectable by a Chinese customs service in which Americans are represented, by courtesy of the signatory powers; (4) The United States enjoys in China "most favored nation rights" in regard to tonnage, harbor and other dues,

The last three of these rights were placed in imminent jeopardy by the scramble of European powers for fragments of the Chinese empire, once the prophesied disintegration should set in. The diplomatic point was to preserve them to the United States, no matter what leading nation or commercial rival might, in the partition or spoliation of China, step into authority, or wish to abrogate them. In such an event, the three rights selected are deemed sufficient to protect our vested rights in treaty settlements, of which that at Shanghai is the largest and best defined; they insure a low tariff on American imports to China whether of American origin or shipped under our flag, and they guard against discrimination either in transportation rates by road or rail, or in dues and taxes on transport.

The categorical acceptance of these rights ensures the freedom of American trade in China for all time to come over the entire area of what is now the Chinese empire. Great Britain was first in its response and most explicit in its declaration. It accepts the principle proposed by the United States for all the leased territory it now holds at Wei Hai Wei, and as to all territory to come. Germany was the last to respond and the text of its answer, so far as published, guarantees "absolute equality of treatment of all nations with regard to trade, navigation and commerce" "so long as it is not found in the future to depart from this principle on account of consideration of reciprocity by a divergence from it by other governments."

The guarantee of equality is not precisely the same pledge as a maintenance of a treaty tariff, but as Germany is of course included in the powers which in the final dispatch are said to have "accepted the declaration suggested by the United States conçerning foreign trade in China," it is clear that Germany with the rest has accepted the three points of protection for treaty rights, the treaty tariff and uniform rates for the subjects of all nations over China. This "declaration" will constitute the common datum from which all future negotiation in China will start. It creates for China, its wide territory, its great population and its growing trade, a common agreement among civilized nations which must control all their future actions.

The treaties of Vienna, Paris and Berlin were no more important in determining the mutual rights and relations of European States or the Berlin convention for Africa. This "declaration" brings to a common basis a great body of treaties extending over half a century, defines action and limits interference with foreign commercial rights in all future acquisitions by any signatory powers, and creates a new "doctrine" for China by establishing the right of the imperial Government to collect duties, requiring its assent to any change in the present tariff and guaranteeing its leases of treaty "settlements."

This great service has been done by the United States for the trade and peace of the world, by the firm but amicable demand that recognized treaty rights should be accepted as constituting, so to speak, a servitude or easement upon all Chinese territory. Once accepted by all nations, this declaration will, as past precedents show, be enforced by all nations. Important to each European nation, this concession is of paramount value to the United States, whose Pacific coast line is the greatest on that ocean, whose posts encircle and cross it, and whose trade is destined to be greater than that of any other nation. During the twentieth century this new "doctrine" established for China is destined to be as important as the Monroe doctrine has been for the Americas in the past century. It protects the present, it safeguards the future and it establishes the United States in an impregnable position antagonizing no nation, entangled with none and demanding for all and of all equal rights guaranteed by past treaties and accepted by this new "declaration."

Each of the powers interested, Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Italy and Spain gave a formal pledge in writing as follows:—

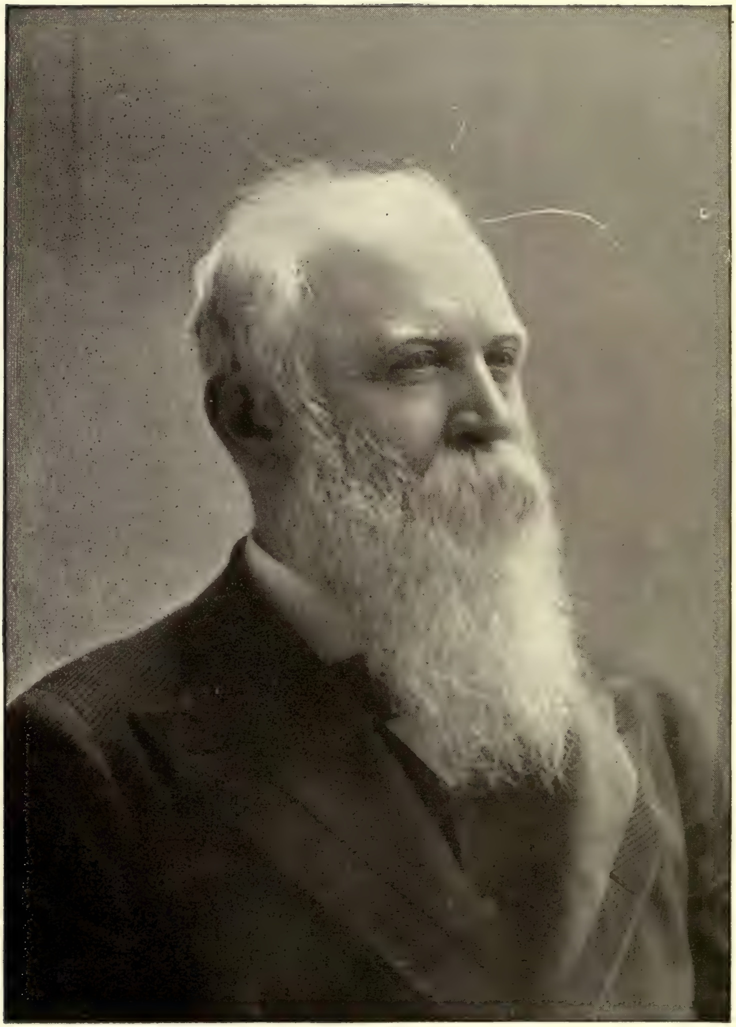
(1.) That it will in nowise interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

(2.) That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall

JOHN C. SPOONER.

John C. Spooner, Republican, of Madison, Wis., was born at Lawrenceburg, Dearborn County, Ind., January 6, 1843; removed with his father's family to Wisconsin and settled at Madison June 1, 1859; graduated at the State University in 1864; was private in Company D, Fortieth Regiment, and captain of CompanyA, Fiftieth Regiment, Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers; was brevetted major at the close of service; was private and military secretary of Governor Lucius Fairchild, of Wisconsin; was admitted to the bar in 1867, and served as assistant attorney-general of the State until 1870, when he removed to Hudson, where he practiced law from 1870 until 1884; was member of the assembly from St. Croix County in 1872; member of the board of regents of the Wisconsin University; was elected United States Senator to succeed Angus Cameron, Republican, for the term beginning March 4, 1885; was chairman of the Wisconsin delegation to National Republican Convention in 1888; was succeeded as United States Senator March 4, 1891, by Wm. F. Vilas, Democrat, receiving, however, the full vote of the Republican members of the legislature for re-election; was chairman of the Wisconsin delegation to National Republican Convention at Minneapolis in 1892;was unanimously nominated a Republican candidate for Governor of Wisconsin in 1892, but was defeated; removed from Hudson to Madison in 1893; has been actively engaged in the practice of the law since April, 1893; unanimously nominated in Republican caucus January 13, 1897, and duly elected January 27' 1897, United States Senator for the term beginning March 4, 1897, to succeed William F. Vilas, Democrat, receiving 117 votes, against 8 votes for W. C. Silverthorn and 2 votes for Edward S. Bragg. His term of service will expire March 3, 1903. Mr. Spooner filled with honor the highly important place of chairman of the Senate Committee on Rules, and served with credit as a member of the committees on Judiciary, Public Health and National Quarantine, Finance, and Cuba.

JOHN C. SPOONER.



WILLIAM MORRIS STEWART.

WILLIAM MORRIS STEWART.

William Morris Stewart, of the Silver party, of Carson City, Nev., was born in Lyons, Wayne County, N. Y., August 9, 1827; removed with his parents while a small child to Mesopotamia Township, Trumbull County, Ohio; attended Lyons Union School and Farmington Academy; was teacher of mathematics in the former school while yet a pupil; with the little money thus earned and the assistance of James C. Smith, one of the judges of the supreme court of New York, he entered Yale College, remaining there till the winter of 1849-50, when attracted by the gold discoveries in California, he found his way thither, arriving at San Francisco in May, 1850; he immediately engaged in mining with pick and shovel in Nevada County, and in this way accumulated some money; in the spring of 1852 he commenced the study of law under John R. McConnell, and in December following was appointed district attorney, to which office he was elected at the general election of the next year; in 1854 was appointed attorney-general of California; *in* 1860 he removed to Virginia City, Nev., where he was largely engaged in early mining litigation and in the development of the Comstock lode; was chosen a member of the Territorial council in 1861; in 1863 was elected a member of the constitutional convention; was elected United States Senator in 1864 and re-elected in 1869; in 1875 he resumed the practice of law in Nevada, California, and the Pacific coast generally, and was thus engaged when elected to the United States Senate, as a Republican, in 1887, to succeed James G. Fair, Democrat, and took his seat March 4, 1887; was re-elected in 1893 and 1899. His term of service will expire March 3, 1905. Mr. Stewart has acquitted himself with distinction as chairman of the Senate Committee on Mines and Mining, and as member of the committees on Claims, Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, Pacific Railroads, District of Columbia, and Indian Affairs.

apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within such "spheres of influence" (unless they be "free ports") no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

(3.) That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled or operated within its "sphere" or merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationality transported over equal distances.

These pledges were given in each case with the undertanding that they would stand if the other powers made similar pledges, which they all did. Then each power was informed of the fact that the others had acceded. When that was accomplished the matter was ended. Great Britain was the first power approached and Japan the last. All of them showed the utmost cordiality toward the United States, and the shape in which the matter now stands, while not literally in the form of a treaty, practically has the same effect.There is no probability of any power withdrawing from that pledge as long as the United States has the support of any other great nation in holding the others to the pledges given. There will never be any question about Great Britain and Japan standing by the United States in this matter, and therefore this great diplomatic achievement, one of the most important in the history of the United States, is secure to our people.

John Hay

NICARAGUA CANAL AND INCIDENT TREATIES.

FOR more than half a century the important question of a canal to join the Atlantic and Pacific oceans has been before Congress and has interested the American people. In the Fifty-sixth Congress the question had so matured as to command from committees of both houses reports favorable to the prompt construction by the government of an interoceanic canal upon ground to be secured by a cession from Nicaragua and Costa Rica. The joint plan of the canal, as indicated by the Committees on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of both houses, treated it as part of the system of navigable waterways of the United States, of immense advantage to our commerce, to our national defense and to the vitality of our navy.

Never had the outlook for the completion of the project looked so propitious. As if in furtherance of the project, a treaty was signed at Washington, called the Hay-Paunceforte treaty, which, upon interpretation, proved to be full of disappointments, especially in the aspect that it seemingly revived in favor of England the obsolete clauses of the old Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and further, placed the United States under pledges not to fortify the canal of its own building, nor use it in time of war for one of the prime purposes for which it was to be built. In a word, the treaty would have the effect of securing, at the expense of the United States, a canal for the equal benefit of international commerce, and one to be neutralized under the guarantee of the great commercial nations of the world. When the treaty went to the Senate for confirmation, it provoked sharp criticism, and invited amendments, the discussion of which must greatly delay the beginning of canal construction, and the passage of which may lead to equal delay, unless, forsooth, a popular sentiment among the people be found sufficiently strong to say to England and to other foreign nations, that, in spite of antiquated treaties, we propose to build the canal with our own money and for our own purposes, and to protect it for our own interests in such way as we please. Our position is peculiar, and the analogies presented by the control of the Suez Canal are not operative here.

Timid and conservative statesmen have found an excuse for delaying legislation looking to the construction of an inter-oceanic canal in the fact that a second commission appointed by the President, in accordance with instructions by Congress, was still on duty in Nicaragua, and therefore it became proper to wait till they had returned and framed their report. More aggressive statesmen claim that a former commission sent was an able one, and that its report was sufficiently plain as to locality, cost and every engineering consideration, to warrant immediate legislation. The duties of the second commission were broadened by authority to inquire into the relative merits of a Nicaragua canal and the one partially constructed across the Isthmus of Panama. This additional duty would naturally delay the report of the commission, and, as some claim, add to its interest, even though the suspicion be abroad that it was instigated by a syndicate with a view to getting back some of the money sunk in the Panama project.

AN INTEROCEANIC CANAL.

By HON. WILLIAM P. HEPBURN,
Member of Congress, Iowa.

THE subject of a canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans is one that for more than half a century has engaged the attention of the American people. The desire for its construction seems to grow with the increase of our population, the development of our capacity of production, and the necessity for the expansion of our commerce.

All of the great political parties of the country have demanded this waterway. Boards of trade, chambers of commerce, state legislatures, and the American press have with marked unanimity spoken in favor of the early completion of this canal, and at various periods it has received the serious attention of the government.

There seems to be but little doubt that the states of Nicaragua and Costa Rica will give their consent for the construction of this great work. These states are friendly disposed toward our government and our people, and have interests connected with it that are, in proportion to wealth and population, even greater than ours. It will traverse either the border or the interior of Nicaragua for a distance of about 190 miles. It will give to that state a waterway from its capital and its most productive region to the sea. It will place that country on one of the great waterways of the world, bringing it into immediate contact with a large foreign commerce and those who conduct it. The splendid soil and climate of their agricultural region will be seen and known in such a way as to compel immigration, settlement, and largely increased production. In very many ways the state will have advantages not now possessed and that will be for a long time lost if another route by which the oceans are connected should be adopted. All of these considerations induce the belief that these two enlightened states will be glad to aid our government cordially and efficiently in carrying out this great design.

The practicability of this work is a question that has been thoroughly studied. As early as 1850 Col. O. W. Childs, an eminent civil engineer, surveyed and located a canal route from Lake Nicaragua to the Pacific Ocean. He also made careful examination of the eastern division, extending from the lake to the mouth of the San Juan River. He reported the route to be practicable within the limits of reasonable cost.

Twenty-two years later a careful survey of the whole route was made by Commander Lull, of the United States Navy. His competency as an engineer is vouched for by his contemporaries. He spent much time in a patient investigation of the subject. He reported that the enterprise was feasible. Later Mr. A. G. Menocal, a naval engineer who is highly indorsed as reliable and competent, under the direction of the Maritime Canal Company, made very elaborate surveys of a route from Greytown to Brito, and he established a line and made estimates of its cost. These surveys and estimates were submitted to a board of five practical engineers occupying high places in their profession in this country. His plans met with their hearty approval and were pronounced by them to be eminently practicable.

In 1895, under the authority of Congress, the President appointed a commission of which Lieutenant-Colonel, now Brigadier-General, Ludlow, United States Army, was president. Rear-Admiral Endicott, United States Navy, and Mr.

Noble, a civil engineer of great experience and high repute, were the other members. This commission spent many months in personal examinations of the route, in making additional surveys, and in studying the surveys and plans made by others. Their careful studies resulted in the opinion that the enterprise of constructing the canal from an engineering standpoint was feasible.

Two years ago still another commission was appointed by the President consisting of Rear-Admiral John G. Walker, United States Navy, Col. Peter C. Haines, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, and Prof. Lewis N. Haupt. This commission also spent many months along the line of the projected canal and in the study of the reports and surveys made by their predecessors. They also added very largely to the surveys theretofore made. They examined the work in all of its aspects, studying the conditions of the country, its precipitation, its geological formation, its liability to seismic disturbances, the labor supply, the cost of materials, and all of the questions suggested to prudent inquiry.

Their report in all of its ample details has just been laid before us, together with the reports of a large number of scientists and skilled engineers called to their aid. All agree that the canal can be constructed with all of its appurtenances within reasonable limits of cost. These reports above referred to, the opinions of the engineers and scientists believed to be entirely competent for their work, justify us in recommending the undertaking of the enterprise as one that is entirely practicable, and that can be completed for a sum of money the expenditure of which will be wise.

It is true that the estimates of costs are variable, ranging as they do from less than $40,000,000 to a possible $145,000,000. It is, however, proper to say that the size and character of the canal estimated for is as variable as is the cost. The earlier estimates were for a canal suited to ships of the times. The later estimates are for ships of this time. Fifteen feet depth and 50 feet width was the size of the earlier project. Thirty feet depth and 150 feet width are the dimensions of the later proposed canal.

Of course an estimate for construction of a work like this in a tropical region, with excessive rainfall, in a sparsely settled country, destitute in a large degree of the necessary materials, must be more or less speculative. Much the larger portion of the unskilled labor will have to be imported, which is also true of all of the skilled labor. Some of the streams that have to be dammed or diverted are torrential in character and in some instances drain large areas. Along the eastern coast the rainfall is nearly 300 inches, and near the lake is nearly 100 inches. These considerations greatly increase the labor of making reliable estimates, but it is believed that the addition of 50 per cent. to the Chicago prices for construction in the eastern division and 33 1-3 per cent. to the Chicago prices in the western division, with 20 per cent. added, or $118,113,700 in all, will be more than enough to cover the total cost of the canal.

In discussing the cash remuneration that will come to the United States from the ownership of this canal, estimates only can be made, and there has been great difference of opinion expressed by persons and writers on this subject, as to the extent of the use that would be made of the canal by the shipping of the world. One gentleman has said that in his judgment not more than 300,000 tons would pass through the canal annually. Another has said that 11,000,000 tons would pass through the canal. Gentlemen connected with the Maritime Canal Company gave it as their opinion that 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 of tonnage would be the amount that would pass through the canal annually.

Of course we have a right to assume that whatever the amount be, it would be an increasing amount from year to year. At present $1.55 per ton is the toll charged for the use of the Suez Canal. If that rate was the rate charged at the Nicaragua Canal, and 4,000,000 be the tonnage passing through it, an aggregate sum of more than $6,000,000 would be the receipts. It is estimated that the cost of maintaining and operating the canal would be $1,000,000 annually. If the United States borrowed money to invest in the enterprise, this sum would pay the annual interest, the cost of maintaining and operating, and leave a surplus of more than $1,000,000. And with the increasing tonnage we might reasonably hope for such accumulations of surplus as would in a few years fully reimburse the Government for its outlay. Or if it should be the policy to use the canal to stimulate the building up of our merchant marine, it could be made a most powerful factor.

A British merchant trading from any port in Great Britain to Hongkong, chartering a 6,000 ton vessel and using the Suez canal, must pay as tolls a sum in excess of $18,000 for the round voyage. His American rival trading from New York to Kongkong, using the Nicaragua Canal free of toll because he used a vessel made in an American shipyard, out of American material, and by American labor, and loaded with American merchandise, would possess marked advantages—advantages so marked as to make it his interest to stimulate American shipbuilding.

It is this kind of a canal, that may be used in this way—discriminating in favor of our merchants and our shipbuilders, and our labor (if such should be the policy of the Government)—that we are anxious to secure.

We are aware that there are a number of persons who claim to have concessions from the Governments of Nicaragua and Costa Rica investing them with rights to navigate the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua. Others claim to be authorized to construct this great waterway connecting the oceans. But it is believed by your committee that these rights have either lapsed or are of inconsiderable value, or have been obtained for speculative purposes. However this may be, it should be the purpose of the Government to deal directly with the Governments of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Those Governments can adjust all questions growing out of these concessions much more easily than the United States. It is not believed that anyone of these real or alleged concessionaries has any rights or interests that he can convey to the United States; and it is not deemed wise to have any joint interest or interests or co-partnership, or any interest growing out of corporate relations with any of these persons. It is our opinion that the people of the United States want a Government canal, one that will be completely under the control of the United States.

It is claimed by some persons that creating this short passage to our Pacific possessions would be an invasion of the rights of other maritime nations; that connecting the waters of two oceans is a matter of such vast concern that it becomes international in its character. But we think the people of no other country would have a right to object if the people of the United States saw fit to construct a ship canal from New York to San Francisco on the territory belonging solely to the United States. Nor would the people of any other country have the right to object if Mexico on her own territory constructed a canal across the isthmus of Tahauntepec. Nor yet again could any one rightfully object to Nicaragua constructing a canal on her own soil from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean. Now, if this be true, if these States would have the right on their own territory, using their own means to provide for themselves this great advantage to their commerce, could not either one of them grant to another State upon terms entirely advantageous and satisfactory to the parties the right to construct a canal similar to the one under discussion?

No one would have the right to quarrel with Nicaragua in thus disposing to the United States a right that unquestionably belongs to her. The fact that it would enable us in an emergency and in certain directions to increase the efficiency of our Navy, does not constitute such a state of facts as would allow our rivals to object to our building this canal. Other nations are now making large additions to their naval power by the use of their shipyards. We certainly possess the right to increase the efficiency of our Navy by increasing the number of our ships. When we have the ships we have the right to send them wherever we choose; and the mere fact that by the rapid transfer through the Nicaragua Canal of our naval vessels to the Pacific, or from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic, thus increasing the efficiency of a given squadron, surely ought not to be regarded as an undue advantage that the United States would have through this waterway.

We want to increase our power upon the high seas. Our people are intent upon having their full share of the commerce of the world. This canal is an aid in that direction. It is true that it will disturb the conditions of equality that now exist, but every effort that the successful merchant makes is an effort to disturb this equality, and to secure advantages for himself. Steamships instead of sail vessels; the huge vessels of to-day instead of the smaller one of fifty years ago; improvements in machinery, in manufacture—all of these are efforts to disturb the equality of conditions that exist between the merchants. They are all deemed justifiable, praiseworthy, and the securement of this short route is only an effort of greater magnitude in this same direction. We save 10,000 miles in the passage to China over the old route by way of Cape Horn. Our Government would have precisely the same right to take offense at the use of the Suez Canal by British merchants, as would the English Government at our using the Nicaragua Canal.

At all events, we want our share of the world's commerce, and to secure it we must have all of the utilities that are possible. Nor can we expect to get our share without fierce struggles. There is now the most intense rivalry for this commerce on the part of commercial nations, and our rivals will use all political and commercial influences, and diplomacy with all of its arts, menacing, perhaps, to drive us out of the field.

There are persons who say that we are bound by treaty stipulations with the Government of Great Britain to refrain from carrying out this enterprise. This statement we do not believe. We recognize the fact that fifty years ago the United States and Great Britain entered into an alliance to secure the building of the Nicaragua Canal. Any person who dispassionately studies carefully that treaty must come to the conclusion that the primary stipulations in the Clayton-Bulwer conventions looked to the immediate building of a canal under the influences that might be exerted by the two Governments rather than to a prohibition of either to build it. Great Britain has allowed fifty years to elapse without any movement on her part to carry out the provisions of that article. It has been a dead letter from the day the treaty was signed to the present moment.

This Nicaragua Canal can properly be described in other words by calling it the "Short route to the East." And then properly paraphrasing the sentence, "Great Britain and the United States bound themselves not to secure as against the other the short route to the East." In 1850 the Nicaragua route was the only "short route to the East" that any man had in his thoughts, and the spirit of the agreement was that Great Britain would not secure "the short route to the East" without the consent and co-operation of the United States.

But in violation of the spirit of the contract Great Britain has, through her control over the Suez Canal, secured for herself "the short route to the East," one that is on her territory as completely for all practical purposes as though it was on the soil of Ireland; one that is completely under the control of her guns, at Gibraltar and the islands in the Mediterranean and on the Red Sea, and yet we are blandly told that, notwithstanding the failure on her part to observe the letter of the seventh article of the treaty and the spirit of the first article, we are bound by a treaty of alliance entered into fifty years ago.

The last fifty years has wrought a remarkable change in our relations to a waterway crossing the isthmus—1850 was only four years removed from our first occupation of California. It was only four years later than the passage of the first party of emigrants from the Mississippi River under the protection of a military force to Oregon. It was but two years after the cession of large landed interests on the Pacific coast from Mexico. It was only three years after settlement of the disputed boundary of our northwest Pacific possessions.

In 1850 not more than 10,000 inhabitants were on the Pacific coast. Our coastwise trade with that coast was insignificant in value or amount. Now we have millions of citizens living on the coast. We have hundreds of millions of commerce, we have thousands of millions of wealth. We have acquired Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippine Islands. There is no comparison between the meager interests of fifty years ago and the colossal interests of to-day. The situation has so changed, the interests of our people now and then are so diverse, the necessity of responding to these changed conditions are so overwhelming that the most censorious of those who lead in the formation of the world's judgment would say that our present action must be in harmony with these new conditions rather than with the old. There is a law of self-preservation that should control the action of communities no less than of individuals.

Irrepealable statutes are not tolerated. Even the most solemnly enacted constitutions must give way to the demands of the later generations when it is found that their provisions are harmful to the public welfare. And we know of no other form of enactment, having sanctity above law and constitution, that the overwhelming needs of the people may not with consistency and morality demand the repeal of.

But we think it safe to say neither the United States or Great Britain have continuously regarded the Clayton-Bulwer treaty as in force. In 1868 the United States and Nicaragua exchanged ratifications of a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation. The following is a part of the sixteenth article of that treaty:

The Republic of Nicaragua agrees that, should it become necessary at any time to employ military forces for the security and protection of persons and property passing over any of the routes aforesaid, it will employ the requisite force for that purpose; but upon failure to do this from any cause whatever the Government of the United States may, with the consent or at the request of the Government of Nicaragua, or of the minister thereof at Washington, or of the competent, legally appointed local authorities, civil or military, may employ such force for this and for no other purpose; and when, in the opinion of the Government of Nicaragua, the necessity ceases such force shall be immediately withdrawn.

In the exceptional case, however, of unforseen or imminent danger to the lives or property of citizens of the United States the forces of said Republic are authorized to act for their protection without such consent having been previously obtained.

The last quoted paragraph above gives to the United States the right to send its forces into Nicaragua to defend the citizens of the United States and their property, the property in contemplation being the Nicaragua Canal. The use of a military force always implies the right to establish fortifications for defensive purposes.

Now, is it possible that the United States would at that early day—only seventeen years after the negotiation of the Clayton-Bulwer convention—have secured from Nicaragua the right thus to use her military forces if the authorities had not believed that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was abrogated. But again, at an earlier period—in 1860—Great Britain herself concluded a treaty with the State of Nicaragua, in which there was an article almost identical with article 16 above quoted. This was eight years before our treaty with Nicaragua. Will it be contended that Great Britain had the right to secure from Nicaragua an agreement that she might enter with her military forces the territory of Nicaragua, and use her military forces for the defense of her people and her property, including the right to build such fortifications as might be needed for her military forces, and yet the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty be in force?

It is doubtless true that in 1850 Great Britain and the United States contemplated the speedy completion of a Nicaragua Canal. They proposed to have joint interests by joint contributions to it. But the possibilities of a Suez Canal, that followed years after 1850 dawned upon the maritime world, changed the interests of Great Britain. She no longer desired the Nicaragua Canal for her own uses. She directed her conduct with reference to the new conditions, yet still uses this ghost of a dead treaty to frighten the people of the United States from securing the great advantages certain to flow to us from the successful completion of this great undertaking.

W. P. Hepburn

NICARAGUA CANAL AND HAY-PAUNCEFOTE TREATY.

By GROVER CLEVELAND,
Ex-President of the United States.

I HAVE always been a supporter of the construction of the Nicaragua Canal. My position has not changed since my reference to it in my first message, which I see has been recently considerably quoted.

I appreciate the importance of the project of the Nicaragua Canal. It seems to me that the only debatable questions are details relating to the construction of the canal, that is, under whose supervision, and at whose expense, and the subsequent management, and the general policy.

It is especially fitting, in view of the ideals upon which our government was founded, and upon our position among the nations of the world, that the whole position of the administration should be that whatever our government's participation in the construction of the canal may be, it should be a gift to the world, and a contribution to advance civilization.

I understand the Hay-Pauncefote treaty to be modeled in accordance with the general idea of absolute and unalterable neutralization which is beyond all question essential to the consummation of this great project, and the concomitant advancement of civilization. Therefore I am heartily in favor of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, the construction of the canal, and its maintenance as a free highway to all nations.

PACIFIC AND ORIENTAL COMMERCE.

THE grand opportunity now presented for the commercial conquest of the Pacific and Orient has awakened the nation, as never before, to its status upon the seas. The thought permeates the people that the criminal negligence which has cost us the carrying trade of the Atlantic and humiliated us in the eyes of the commercial world, must cease, if we are to be a factor in the new ocean world opened to us, or, what we by virtue of our position and by every right of superiority should be, monarch of the marine domain that washes our home and foreign possessions. We read of many plans having for their object the rehabilitation of our ocean commerce, every one of which would be infinitely preferable to the prevailing no-plan-at-all which makes us so ridiculous in maritime eyes. Amid the plans proposed in the following articles, and with a view not only acquiring what we have lost on the Atlantic, but of achieving what is possible on the Pacific and in the Orient in a commercial way, may be found many things original and unique as far as this nation is concerned, and all well worthy of profound consideration.

The original plan of helping our commerce was by discriminating duties; that is, by imposing a less duty on goods imported in American ships than on those imported in foreign ships. This was the plan adopted by England centuries ago, and by means of it she laid the foundation of her merchant marine, and built it to immense proportions. Under the same plan, the early merchant marine of the United States became mistress of the world's carrying trade. When the plan began to yield to politics, our merchant marine began to decline; and when eventually the plan was abandoned altogether, we ceased almost entirely to be ocean carriers of even our own products. Many prominent statesmen urge the feasibility of again resorting to discriminating duties as a means of restoring our commercial prestige. They are combatted by two schools, one favoring free ships, and corresponding to the economic school of free traders; the other favoring the principle of subsidies. The arguments in favor of free ships are identical with those advanced for reduced duties, or no duties at all, upon foreign imports, and need not be further recounted here. The arguments in favor of subsidies, in one form or another, are that free ships would mean the swift and total extinction of our merchant marine, that discriminating duties are out of date, and that all commercial nations are maintaining their ocean supremacy by the modern and effective means of subsidies directly paid or through contracts to carry the mails. That this is the modern method, and that it is successful, is proven in the practice of Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, and in fact every maritine nation in Europe. But the word subsidy has such a harsh sound to American ears, that mention of it stirs opposition. It becomes, therefore, necessary to formulate a method that meets the modern idea, and yet is free from the odium that clings to the word subsidy. It will prove interesting to note how far this has been affected by the propositions set forth in the following articles, especially that contributed by Mr. Grosvenor, of Ohio, who as chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine, has given the subject profound study and is easily among the leaders of those who are engaged in efforts to restore our merchant marine to pristine conditions.

FOR THE PROMOTION OF COMMERCE.

By HON. CHARLES H. GROSVENOR,
Member of Congress, Ohio.

THAT it is of very great value to a country of abundant natural resources, with an industrious and increasing population, to increase the means of profitably disposing of its surplus productions of every kind is a self-evident proposition. It is also, we think, self evident that by just so much as export trade is increased, home employment and home consumption are increased also.

Other nations which are the principal manufacturing and exporting competitors of our country have been alive to this for a long time, and have steadily devoted themselves to the increase of their export trade and to getting possession, as fast and as far as possible, of the markets and regions promising the largest results in that direction. The so-called "spheres of influence," which mean the partition of territory for commercial purposes, and including such dominion as may be necessary or convenient to commercial ends, have now almost entirely embraced the African continent.

Eastern Asia has very recently been the special object of such ambitions, and it is probably due only to irreconcilable conflicts of interest that China has not already been partitioned among three or four European powers, mainly for the same purposes. As the situation now exists there is probably good reason to believe that China may be left open to the fair and equal competition in respect of trade with the United States. We think it undoubtedly true that China will furnish for a long time to come, if opened to foreign trade and enterprise, one of the largest, if not the largest, fields for the trade and commerce of other nations who may possess the means, the facilities, the enterprise, and the persistence necessary to the promotion of their commercial interests. It is also, we think, indisputably true that the producing and manufacturing nation which can be earliest in the field with its own productions and with its own means of transportation, supported by the strength and the reputation of its own flag, will achieve the largest success.

If the foregoing statements are correct, the conclusion is irresistible that the United States ought, in the quickest and the most effective way, to take measures for securing our share in the development of that country, whose population is so immense and whose desire for advancement in all that is included in the term "modern civilization" may be assumed to be so earnest, if once the barriers which have hitherto almost entirely excluded foreign intercourse are removed.

Another general and an almost self-evident proposition should be stated in this connection; that is, the indispensable necessity that our government should have from this time forth abundant establishments for shipbuilding and ship repairing, abundant dockyards and docks, and, in addition to an adequate navy, a great fleet of merchant vessels, many of which should be at all times suitable for and capable of employment in the government service whenever the exigencies, always so likely to occur, of strained relations with other countries, or war between other nations, must produce a state of things highly injurious to the nation not so supplied with such resources for immediate use. If there is any value in the evidence of national experience, these considerations may be taken also as self-evident.

Acting upon considerations such as we have stated, other principal nations are exerting themselves to increase their sea power in all the ways we have referred to, with the double object of strengthening their facilities and power for carrying on foreign commerce and for having at hand all the means necessary for the advancement as well as the defense, of their commercial interests, and for the maintenance of their honor.

The foregoing observations cover concisely, we think, the broad considerations affecting our national welfare, and force us to the inquiry of what is our present comparative situation in respect of our foreign trade and our seagoing vessels. The sail tonnage of all countries has during the last twenty-five years decreased 40 per cent. and the decrease in the United States tonnage has been the same. The only country whose sail tonnage has increased is Norway.

The seagoing steam tonnage of all nations has increased 336 per cent., or nearly 14 per cent. per annum, during the last quarter of a century. In the year 1873 the steam tonnage of Great Britain was 2,624,473 tons and that of the United States was 483,040 tons, while in the year 1899 the steam tonnage of Great Britain had increased to 10,993,111 tons and the steam tonnage of the United States had increased only to 810,800 tons, the British tonnage being in that year 58.5 per cent. of the whole and our tonnage in that year being only 4.2 per cent.; and for the whole period of the last quarter of a century the British increase has been 311 per cent., while the American increase has only been 68 per cent.

During the same time the French increase has been 200 per cent.; the German, 693 per cent.; the Spanish, 275 per cent.; the Italian, 395 per cent.; the Netherlands, 399 per cent.; the Russian, 430 per cent.; and the Norwegian, 1,410 per cent. Thus the total average increase was 336 per cent., of which our increase was only 68 per cent.

It appears, then, that with our great population, industry, resources, and enterprise we stand at the very foot of the column.

In the same connection, during the last quarter of a century the total carrying trade of the United States has diminished from 26.1 per cent. in 1875 to 8.9 per cent. in 1899, and for the same period of time the tonnage of our vessels engaged in the foreign trade has decreased from 30 per cent. of the total of our foreign trade to 20 per cent., and the foreign tonnage engaged in bringing merchandise to and taking it from our ports has increased from 70 per cent. to 80 per cent.

The total registered tonnage built in the United States in the year ending June 30, 1899, was 79 vessels, with a total tonnage of 36,107 tons. This includes both sail and steam vessels and vessels partly employed in domestic and partly in foreign trade along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. During the year ending June 30, 1899, there were built of ocean-going steam vessels in the United States 19, with a total tonnage of 43,871 tons. This shipbuilding in the United States is largely made up in the construction of steamers for trade between our own various ports. Our average annual construction of ocean steamships for ten years past has only been 21,000 tons per year, compared with the British average construction of 968,000 tons per year.

And in this connection it may be proper to consider next the comparative cost of shipbuilding in the United States and in Great Britain, in which latter country shipbuilding has been and continues to be, carried on on the whole at a smaller cost than in other European countries, and at very much smaller cost than in the United States. It may be safely stated that the cost of shipbuilding in Great Britain is at least 20 per cent., and probably on the average 25 per cent., lower than in the United States.

But it is hardly necessary to pursue this subject of the cost of shipbuilding here and abroad in detail, for it must be obvious to every intelligent person that people who wish to procure ships will, as in all other cases of business transactions, usually buy them in the market where they are the cheapest, and of course they are the cheapest in the market where the cost of building is the lowest. The shipyards of Great Britain turn out to purchasers really almost the entire output of ships for international ocean trade. The people of our country have energy, the enterprise, the skill, the capital, the material for shipbuilding in a larger degree (excepting capital) than have the shipbuilders of Great Britain; they have the harbors, the shipyards, and the machinery necessary for such purposes, but they do not get the contracts for building, to any appreciable extent, the ocean trade ships. It is therefore obvious that shipbuilding in Great Britain is very largely cheaper than in this country.

It may be proper to state, in connection with this part of the subject and that relating to operating expenses also, that what has been said in respect of the two does not cover the whole ground. There remains for consideration the aids given by foreign countries to their own shipping as compared to such as are given by our own Government to American vessels. This matter will be referred to further on.

It is next proper in this connection to consider the comparative cost of operating vessels in foreign trade under the American flag and under foreign flags. This cost is, on the average, at least 30 per cent. greater for American vessels than for vessels under the principal foreign flags.

A study of the information and statistics shows that the average rate of wages of American seamen on sailing vessels crossing the Atlantic ranged from $15 to $25 per month, averaging, say, $20 per month, and that the average wages on British sailing vessels ranged from $12.15 to $17.01, the ordinary rate being about $14 per month; and on long voyages from the Pacific coast to Great Britain, the American wages were from $15 to $20 per month, and on British vessels from $12.15 to $14.58 per month; and the wages of boatswains making these voyages on American sailing vessels ranged from $22 to $25, and on the British vessels from $19.44 to $14.30. So that, it appears, on the whole, the British wages on sailing vessels were somewhat less than three-fourths of the American wages.

On passenger steamships in the Atlantic trade between New York and Philadelphia and Great Britain the wages of "able seamen" were only slightly larger on American vessels, but the wages for other portions of the crew, such as firemen, trimmers, coal passers, etc., the American wages were $40 per month, while the British maximum was only $24.30, the usual rate being from $19.44 to $21.87—just about half the American pay.

The difference between the wages on German and French vessels and the wages paid on United States vessels appears to be very much greater than the difference between American and British wages to whatever countries the voyages may be made.

A comparison of the actual wage expenses of five vessels of substantially the same tonnage and derived from actual instances, one vessel being American, one British, one German, one Dutch, and one Norwegian, the American vessel being built in the United States and the other four in England, shows the following:

American vessel was	$1,385.00
British vessel	851.69
German vessel	646.33
Dutch vessel	553.62
Norwegian vessel	510.72

the American wages being more than 60 per cent. greater than the British, and nearly twice as great as the German, and about two and a half times greater than the Dutch, and still greater as compared with the Norwegian.

It appears to be beyond any reasonable or intelligent dispute that, on the whole, the cost of building ships in the United States has been and is at least 20 to 25 per cent. greater than building in the great shipbuilding establishments of Great Britain, in which a very large proportion of merchant vessels are constructed, and also that the cost of operating American vessels has been and is at least 30 and probably 40 per cent. greater than that of operating similar vessels under foreign flags, and this is especially true when we take into consideration what we have not before mentioned—that the increased cost of the vessels is of course followed by an increased interest account, an increased percentage of deterioration, and an increased cost of insurance.

Having now briefly stated the situation in which our country is placed at present in respect of the general subject and in respect of the facts regarding the amount of our commerce now carried in American ships, the cost of shipbuilding here as compared with the cost of shipbuilding in Great Britain, and the cost of operating ships under our flag as compared with the cost under foreign flags, we come to the consideration of the various measures suggested for putting our country in the position which we believe all parties and people, of all varieties of views as to the remedy, concur in thinking to be absolutely necessary.

The first measure suggested in the last Congress was that of discriminating duties on imports. In support of that method of relief it has been said that while the United States imposed discriminating duties in the earlier history of the Republic our commerce under our flag very largely increased. That it did increase during a period when a law for discriminating duties was in force is undoubtedly true, but that it increased for that reason is, in very large degree, an erroneous conclusion. As to countries with which we had no treaties of equal commercial rights, and with the territories of Great Britain in North America and to a certain extent with the West Indies, we were free to make such discriminations in favor of our own flag, but the trade arising under those conditions was comparatively small, and in most cases ships and cargoes under our flag were in such other countries and territories put at a disadvantage equivalent, and sometimes more than equivalent, to our discrimination.

In all such cases retaliation, in one form or another, is almost the necessary consequence, as we have ourselves proved in recent years, as well as earlier ones, in our own measures, usually confided to the discretion of the President, to meet what we conceived to be unequal and excessive exactions on our ships and cargoes in such foreign ports. Under present circumstances, it is sufficent to say that in a resort to discriminating duties, even if it were supposed we could impose them, their effect would not be to produce the result desired. Our existing treaties with every commercial nation on the globe forbid such discrimination, except, as we have stated, in respect of British North America and to a degree with the British West Indies.

Looking at the immediate and urgent necessity of measures for the public welfare arising from the conditions we have already stated, it is obvious that if Congress were willing to authorize the President to terminate all these commercial treaties, the time required—one or two years after notice given—would be so great as in a large degree to diminish the advantages of immediate action. And it may be added that it is open to the gravest question whether the resort to discriminating duties, if we were free to do so at this moment, would be of advantage to the United States. We may, therefore, leave out of the question this method of accomplishing the end desired.

Another suggestion for legislation on the subject has been that of granting a bounty on farm products and other goods of the United States exported to foreign countries. If this bounty were to be confined to exports in American vessels, the same obstacles we have named in respect of discriminating duties apply to such bounties; for there are, as can be seen by a reference to our treaties now in force, more than twenty treaties which, in terms, require the United States to give to the vessels of those other countries the same bounties on exports that are given to exports in American vessels. So far, therefore, the suggested bounty method is as equally out of the question as are discriminating duties.

If such a bounty on exports of American productions were given to exports in vessels of all nationalities, as it must be under existing treaties, the effect would be to benefit the foreign vessel, shipbuilder, and shipowner to precisely the same extent that it would benefit the American vessel and shipowner, and consequently the disparity in the cost of shipbuilding and ship operating between the United States and all other countries would remain precisely the same, and the relative condition of the American merchant marine would remain in the same unfortunate state that it is at present. Besides this, there is good ground to believe, from commercial experience, that as regards the producer of farm products and the manufacturer of articles for export the supposed bounty benefit would be wholly deceptive. It would never reach the producer or the manufacturer. The prices of freights would remain the same so long as the law of supply and demand, constant as the law of gravitation, shall continue, for there would be no increased competition.

The reduction of freight rates, whether on land or sea, must always depend upon the cheapness of the means of transportation and upon the competition of carriers. The suggested bounty method of ameliorating our condition may therefore be dismissed from consideration.

The next remedy suggested is the so-often reiterated and reproposed panacea of "free ships." This is understood to mean that the people of the United States shall, by act of Congress, be authorized to purchase their ships in the cheapest market where ships are bought or sold, and to bring them into the national registry of the United States and put them on an equal footing with vessels built here; and it is indisputable that if this policy is the correct one the same rights should exist to purchase ships for the domestic as well as foreign trade.

In respect of this proposition it may be safely stated without reserve that our people can be supplied with English-built ships, in any number desired, at a cost of probably 25, and certainly at least 20, per cent. cheaper than they can be supplied from American shipyards, for the reasons that have already been stated. The vessels wanted, therefore, would not be built in our own yards, and those yards, so far as now existing, would to this great extent be left idle and would necessarily be compelled to close. This would leave the United States substantially destitute of the means of shipbuilding, fitting out, and repairing, except so far as Government ship and dock yards should be kept up entirely at the expense of the Treasury, and with nothing to do except the construction of vessels of war.

We have no hesitation in saying that such a condition of things would be not only repugnant to the just feeling of our people, but would be immensely injurious to our welfare in case of difficulties with or between foreign nations, and would also be absolutely in contradiction of the theory and effect of every tariff law that has been passed from the beginning of our Government, whether such law were enacted through the influence of one political party or the other. Undoubtedly such a suicidal course would be of great advantage to the interests of the English shipbuilders and to all allied interests.

It has been sometimes suggested that postal subsidies might effect the result desired. If postal subsidies could be offered and paid to vessels running to probably 40 or 50 different ports in foreign countries, without regard to the amount of mail service they would have to do, and large enough to pay the expense of building and running the ships for the subsidy, aided by such commercial business as could be obtained, American trade to these ports could doubtless be largely increased; but this would be at an expense, we think, immensely greater than the total sum provided to be paid annually by the bill under consideration, and it would confine increased operations of our trade to those particular ports. Besides this postal subsidies are, in their nature, necessarily almost entirely given to a particular line, thus putting that line at advantage over every other trading between the same ports. This would be a system of inequality that never should be resorted to except in case of absolute necessity. The subsidized line becomes, in effect, almost a monopoly, and therefore such a system ought not to be resorted to beyond the immediate necessities of a particular service.

In many of the principal foreign countries competing with the United States for foreign trade liberal postal subsidies are given, but of course with the same effect that we have spoken of in respect of putting the subsidized line in a condition of advantage for the particular trade over that of other vessels. And in regard to the international competition for foreign trade it is curious to observe that in some of such postal subsidy arrangements the subsidized line is forbidden to make contracts with foreign postal authorities for the transportation of its mails.

From what we have hereinbefore stated it seems clear that the great object of increasing our export trade and strengthening our merchant marine for the purposes of that trade and for the national defense can not be attained either by discriminating duties or bounty on exports or "free ships" or postal subsidies. We believe these four methods include all that have been suggested by those who opposed the general scheme contained in the bill under consideration.

There appears nothing left, therefore, for those who are really in earnest in their professions of a desire to promote the national welfare by a largely increased foreign disposal of the abundant and ever increasing productions of the soil, the mines, the factories, and the shops of our country but to adopt the principle and apply the scheme contained in the bill under consideration. It is obvious, from what we have above stated and from the nature of things,that every foreign nation having home industries, either of shipbuilding, ship operating, manufacturing, or commerce, can not and does not regard with satisfaction any measure of the United States in this direction, and it follows also that such American citizens as have interests in the trade or the shipping of other countries naturally feel that their personal interests would lead them to prefer that nothing whatever be done.

Assuming, as would seem to be and doubtless is true, that Congress and the great mass of the American people are desirous to take the best practicable steps to the great ends we have named, we come to consider the principle upon which the bill is founded and the methods provided for the application of the principle. The principle is almost if not absolutely unique. It is that our export trade shall be open on the same terms, so far as assisted by the policy and the money of the United States is concerned, to every one of our citizens who may choose to engage in it, and upon terms of equality to all, according to the service rendered.

This is the broad principle and purpose of the bill, which, applied to the present most unsatisfactory condition of our foreign commerce and our marine, it is hoped and expected will in due time give us a vastly increased merchant marine and a vastly increased sale, in old and new markets, of the fruits of the natural resources of our country and of the industry employed in every branch of our commerce, as well as an American postal service to every port to which the vessels receiving compensation go; and it will also (most important to our national honor and safety) give us a great fleet of vessels auxiliary to our navy and indispensable to military operations abroad. In view of the then expected, and, as it turned out, the very short and it may be said easy war with Spain, our Government was obliged to buy for military uses not less than 40 vessels under foreign flags. Had the Spanish fleets not been destroyed almost at once, or had the war been prolonged, or had a war been waged with some power as strong or stronger on the sea than ourselves, this lack of auxiliary vessels would have been disastrous to our ability to do much else than to defend our coasts.

The gist of the bill is as follows: 1. Compensation to American registered vessels, with regard to cargo. 2. Service to be accomplished under 10 and 20 year contracts. 3. Compensation for voyages not exceeding 16 in a year, nor more than 1500 miles outward and homeward, of 1 1-2 cents per gross ton for each 100 miles, and 1 cent per gross ton additional for every 100 miles on longer voyages. 4. Additional compensation proportionate to the speed of vessels and their tonnage. 5. Aggregate compensation for any one year not to exceed $9,000,000. 6. At least one-fourth of crew of each vessel to be citizens of the United States. 7. Provisions for registry of foreign built ships. 8. Right of Government to take vessels, in time of war, as cruisers or transports. 9. All vessels under contract to carry U. S. mail without further compensation. 10. No contracts to be made after 10 years from passage of bill. 11. The anti-trust act to apply to builders and owners of vessels. 12. Provisions for making and violation of contracts.

We come to the consideration of the question whether the compensation provided for is so great as to enable the vessels receiving it to make their voyages for the sake of it and the required cargo alone and without earning in our export trade by the carriage of substantial cargoes, etc., a large amount of money. If the vessels could make the voyages for the compensation, it would follow that the compensation fixed by the bill is too great and ought to be reduced; but to guard against this suggested possibility a certain and fully adequate amount of cargo is required. If, on the other hand, the vessels can not make the voyages and earn the compensation without doing a large and effective amount of commercial business, then it will be clear that the compensation is not too great.

In this connection it is convenient to call attention to the aids given by other nations to their merchant marine in addition to the advantage that the foreign marine has in respect of the cost of vessels and the cost of operating them, to which we have already called attention. It appears from the report of the Commissioner of Navigation for the year ending June 30, 1899, pages 23, 24 and 25, that the aids given were the following:

Great Britain	$5,851,525
Germany (besides a certain amount of land transportation aid)	1,894,620
France	7,632,242
Italy	2,185,266
Russia	1,371,187
Austria	1,724,249
Spain	1,629,927
Portugal	63,300
Netherlands	259,971
Norway	136,948
Sweden	31,844
Denmark	82,455
Japan	3,492,107
Being a total of	26,355,641
Against a total of similar aids by the United States of only	998,211

The above named sum of United States aid to our vessels was diminished for the year named on account of the war with Spain. It would probably be increased under normal peaceful conditions by $300,000 or $400,000 at the most. And with his increase the enormous disparity between the aids given by other governments and our own, for we have to contend against them all, is still obvious.

The cardinal purposes of the bill are:

1. To aid in a real practical way—and no doubt, under existing conditions, the only possible way—in bringing to the greatest extent possible our own foreign trade back into our own hands, and thus saving to our country certainly more than $100,000,000 transportation money annually, which now goes to increase the wealth of other nations.

2. To greatly increase the exportation and sale of all kinds of our superabundant productions, and especially in the vast regions of eastern Asia, evidently very soon to be opened to the trade of the world. This is a trade that the nation best prepared to engage in will necessarily get the greater proportion by its own ships, under its own flag, and with its own postal facilities and its own commercial establishments for the disposal of its productions.

3. To bring into existence at the earliest possible time a great American fleet of merchant vessels, built in our own country with our own material and by our own labor, as a most necessary means of national aid and national safety in times of international war or other disturbance, the probability of which is, unhappily, not small even now.

4. To increase the number of our citizens who will be educated in seafaring work, and who will thus have the skill and be better able to defend the honor and interests of our country on seas, however suddenly the occasion may happen.

5. The bill, we think, will, if the proposed compensation

is large enough, accomplish these great and important purposes.

It will, of course, take a considerable time to reach the desired end, but the sooner the policy is entered upon the sooner and easier will be its accomplishment.

The means proposed are open to the capital, the enterprise, and the skill of all our citizens alike, and on equal terms. There is no ground for any form of monopoly. There is absolute safety to the Treasury in the fact that no payment can be made until in each and for each voyage the work is actually performed. As we have before stated, it is certain that no vessel, great or small, fast or slow, in the list, can afford to make a single voyage without having also a large commercial business and income from the same voyage, and in doing which commercial business she is fulfilling one of the great purposes of the bill.

C. H. Cramp

OUR PACIFIC TRADE.

By HON. GEORGE C. PERKINS,
U. S. Senator, California.

ALL signs indicate that the Pacific is to be the scene of the next period of the world's progress. All the great nations have their eyes fixed upon it, and history affecting nearly all the peoples on the globe is to be made there, and with no great delay. That great highway of commerce which has been used so infrequently is to become a busy thoroughfare.

The United States is to be represented in the vast trade which is to come, and it has footholds which will enable us to take and keep the commercial position which is our due. The Stars and Stripes float over the Hawaiian Islands, Guam, Pago Pago and the Philippines. On these points of support and advantage we can build up our Pacific commerce. What it may be made to become can be imagined, perhaps, when it is realized that nearly half the people of the globe are tributary to the Pacific Ocean.

From Singapore to Vladivostok there are commercial possibilities unrivaled elsewhere. The wants of half a billion of people, just awakening from the isolation of centuries, offer opportunities which the vigorous nations of the world fully recognize and are making strenuous efforts to take advantage of. But none of them is so favorably situated for the extension of commerce as is the United States. We face Asia across an ocean in which we have points of vantage that will enable us to make it practically our own.

But to do this there yet remains much to be done. These points must first be joined to each other and to the United States by a telegraphic cable. There is another and a greater work which must be undertaken at once in behalf of Pacific commerce—the Nicaragua Canal. With the opening of the canal the distance from New York to Asiatic ports will be reduced so that the great American metropolis will be the center of our Oriental trade. A waterway across Nicaragua will transfer at once the present advantage of European marts to this side of the Atlantic. The entire western coast of the two American Continents will be brought nearer to the Atlantic ports by over one-third the circumference of the earth. The islands of the Pacific, and the entire Eastern coast line of Australia, Asia and Japan will be brought at once within distances which will enable the farmer of the Mississippi Valley, the producers of the Southern States, the manufacturers of the Great Lakes and the Atlantic seaboard to compete through Gulf and Atlantic ports with the people of Continental Europe.

The Philippines came to us as a meteor comes to the earth. They must remain within the sphere of our influence, and that influence will be there, as here, for the elevation of mankind. What kind of government shall be established in place of that abolished is yet to be determined. Justice to both the Filipino and the American must be maintained. The benefit of one must not work to the injury of the other. The relations of the islands to the United States must be fixed with that end in view, and though we give to the people of the Philippines security of life and property, an opportunity for education and advancement in civilization, a chance to develop the vast resources of their islands, we should not permit the products of their cheap labor to come into competition with the products of American labor, which exists on a far higher plane than that to which the Filipino laborer can for a long time hope to attain.

The sugar and tobacco of the islands must not be made the means for lowering the standard of living of those who produce beet and cane sugar and raise tobacco and rice in the United States.

Until the Filipino, through the influence of a just and humane government has advanced in civilization to the point reached by American laborers in the field and in the manufactory, he must and should be contented with having afforded him the means of rising to that standard. He cannot expect at once to come into the enjoyment of all those privileges which the founders of the Republic fought and suffered to bequeath to us, and which it has taken over a century to firmly establish.

The past three years has seen a wonderful growth of our foreign commerce; no longer do our foodstuffs and our raw material form almost our sole exports. The products of our workshops and manufacturers are finding markets across the oceans. The echo of American guns has caused the world to realize that the great American Republic has taken its place in the front rank of the strong and progressive nations of the earth. Our products go forth with the prestige of a strong nation behind them, and the world receives them as we receive anything from the strong and the capable. Power behind the goods opens wide the market of the nations. So our exports have rapidly increased, and will increase still more rapidly when we have taken that action which will make our commercial position in the Pacific impregnable.

When the cable and canal are completed, and our merchant marine is enabled to grow to meet the demands of our export trade, there will be no chance for overproduction, and the farmer and the manufacturer of the United States will have before him no longer the fear of hard times. There will be no longer only the domestic market. The whole world will be opened to the producer, and American labor will find continuous occupation and munificent reward.

Geo C Perkins

UPBUILDING OUR MERCHANT MARINE.

IT has taken seventy years, or since 1828, for the United States to awaken to the fact that it has utterly neglected its foreign commercial development. It has protected and fostered its home industries, including its coast, lake and river commerce, but has blindly and ingloriously permitted its ocean trade to pass into the keeping of foreign nations who knew the value of a merchant marine and never hesitated as to wise and efficient measures for its upbuilding. This apathy as to our merchant marine has prevailed until we stand aghast at the appalling sight of ninety per cent. of our immense exports and imports going and coming across the seas in foreign bottoms, at an annual loss of $200,000,000 which might be saved to us in freight alone. Statesmen of all parties, and the people generally, agree as to the unwisdom and folly of perpetuating a condition so dangerous to ourselves in case of war, so humiliating to our pride, and so at odds with our sufficiency and independence in every other line of industry. Yet with this agreement and with the ever pressing importance of the question, it makes but slow headway toward solution because of discord as to the proper policy to be pursued in reaching the desired end. Meanwhile the question grows more urgent and momentous every day, and especially in view of our new position in the Orient.

During the frequent and animated discussions of the question in the 56th Congress, some curious facts came to the surface. One was that the seven Democratic members of the House Committee on Merchant Marine were no longer united in their opposition to a measure proposed by a majority of the committee having in view the restoration of our lost merchant marine. On the contrary, three, and perhaps the ablest of the seven, approved the prnciple and purpose of the measure, asking only for some amendments of minor moment. This nearly equal division of the opposition proved a hopeful sign for the measure. Another curious fact was that the four minority dissentients in their report repudiated the old-fashioned doctrine of free ships and then failed to propose any substitute for the majority measure, their position really being that our merchant marine was well enough as it stood, and that it was no waste to pay annually to foreigners immense sums for ocean freight. This position was greatly weakened by the arguments of its supporters, for they educed nothing that had not been used by the agents and owners of foreign and subsidized steamship lines against American attempts to recover a lost marine prestige. Should this measure, or some similar one, fail in the 56th Congress, and go to the country, it will afford discussion of the most interesting and educative kind, involving not only the problem of protection in general, but in those less direct and conspicuous forms by means of which our coastwise trade has been built to marvellous proportions, and our steel shipyards have been fostered till they are admired monuments of skill and workmanship and solid investment.

POLICY OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO AMERICAN SHIPPING.

By HON. STEPHEN B. ELKINS,
U. S. Senator, West Virginia.

UNDER a proper policy of encouragement to American shipping the United States, with its 8,000 miles of seacoast, its navigable rivers and lake coast, fine harbors, variety of climate, productive capacity, rapidly increasing population, its position on the globe—Asia on one side with 600,000,000 and Europe on the other with 400,000,000 of people—should be the leading commercial and maritime power of the world.

This would be the proud position of the United States today had protection to American interests on the sea granted by the founders of the government in the early legislation of Congress been continued. Our progress on land in a century is unsurpassed in the history of material development, while our progress in shipping has languished under the policy of maritime reciprocity until our flag is unknown on many seas, and with some nations has almost become a myth.

No nation has ever been truly great nor an important factor in the affairs of the world unless it has been great on the sea. The United States can not reach its full growth and measure of progress until its shipping and commerce are relatively equal to its industries on land.

During the last forty years the people of the United States have been so occupied with internal development, exploring and exploiting the West, building railroads, opening mines, establishing manufactures, that they have not given that attention to shipping it deserves. The time is at hand, however, when the opportunities on land have so diminished that business men seeking careers and fortunes in the commercial world must turn to the seas.

The United States pays $500,000 every day, or nearly $3 per capita per annum, to foreign shipowners for carrying what its people sell and buy. This enormous sum, or most of it, under a proper policy of aid to shipping would be saved to the country.

Apart from the importance of encouraging shipping purely as a branch of industry that brings returns to those engaged in it, employment for labor, and consumption of raw and manufactured material, it has an added importance and becomes a matter of national concern from the standpoint of defense.

Any plan or policy that may be devised for building up American shipping on the high seas will meet with serious opposition from the ship-owning nations of the world. Even among our own people opposition will be developed. But we must not be deterred from the performance of a plain duty because of difficulties and opposition at home and abroad. Difficulties lie in the pathway of progress. No great thing comes to a nation, a community, or an individual without effort and difficulties to overcome.

The United States has a common interest in the oceans and seas of the world, and should share in the fruits and benefits that arise from occupying them with its vessels; especially should it have the largest share in carrying its own foreign trade. Because of the opposition of Great Britain and countries which control the shipping of the world and enjoy what we once had, we must not surrender our rights on the seas and fail to reach out and take again what naturally belongs to us.

Our greatest contest will be with England for commercial supremacy. Great Britain will resist every step in the direction of restoring American shipping. She would not be true to her people, her commercial instincts, traditions, and interests were she not to make every effort in her power to maintain her supremacy on the seas. What agriculture is to the United States shipping is to England, and England will use all her endeavors, through statesmanship and diplomacy, to protect the same. Against this there can be no reasonable objection on our part.

The first and most important question of national policy that engaged the attention of the makers of the Government after the adoption of the Constitution was what could or should be done by legislation to provide revenue and encourage manufacturing and shipping. The First Congress levied duties on goods, wares, and merchandise imported into the United States for the purpose of raising revenue and to encourage manufacturing, and by the same and other acts in order to encourage shipping, additional duties were imposed on goods, wares, and merchandise imported in vessels not of the United States.

The acts of Congress providing discriminating duties were taken from the navigation laws of Great Britain, then in force for more than one hundred years and which were not repealed for nearly sixty years afterwards. The policy of protection to our manufacturing interests has been continued from 1789 until now, and the results have justified the wisdom, not only of adopting such a policy in the first instance, but in adhering to it.

The policy of protecting our lake and coastwise shipping by excluding from it foreign vessels has also remained in force a hundred years and borne the best results. The only instance in which we have departed from the teachings of the fathers and given up the protective policy they adopted has been to ocean carrying.

In adhering to the policy of protection to our manufactures and to shipping in the coastwise trade, the United States is now the leading nation in manufacturing, and our coastwise trade is the largest in tonnage and the most prosperous in the world.

By giving up protection to shipping on the high seas, it has declined until we now carry only 11 per cent. of our foreign commerce, while our ships under discriminating duties from 1789 to 1828—a period of forty years—carried on an average of nearly 90 per cent.

The first year after the passage of the act of July 4, 1789, providing discriminating duties, American ships carried 40, the second 50, the third 65, the fourth 79, and the fifth 88 per cent. of our foreign commerce. And this increase was substantially maintained until 1828, when protection to shipping by discriminating duties was conditionally suspended by acts of Congress and treaties with Great Britain and other countries. The effect of this legislation in increasing shipping in our foreign commerce was phenomenal. The progress made not only vindicated the wisdom of passing such acts, but went beyond the expectations of the friends of shipping. These acts, while increasing shipping in our foreign commerce, had the effect to decrease British shipping correspondingly.

The policy of discriminating duties not only increased our shipping, but it built up a merchant marine and a navy which stood us well in hand in the war of 1812. If our fathers had not in their wisdom provided for the protection of shipping immediately after the adoption of the Constitution, our carrying would have largely remained in the hands of foreign ship-owners, and in the war of 1812 we would have been without a merchant marine and without a navy or seamen to man it—simply powerless and defenseless on the high seas—and we would have suffered defeat instead of achieving a great victory. It is a remarkable fact that Madison in the First Congress introduced the bill that protected shipping, its passage being urged on the ground that it would build up a merchant marine and a navy which would be useful in time of war, and during the war of 1812 he was President and used the navy built up under his bill to save the United States from defeat.

After the close of the war of 1812 there grew up in the United States a party desirous of conciliating England. The President and Congress lent willing ears to the importunities of this party and the proposal of English statesmen to remove restrictions against foreigners and foreign-built vessels in the American carrying trade. All the arguments for free trade in shipping, maritime reciprocity, and neighborly feeling in doing business, good in theory and on paper, were brought forth at the time. Accordingly, Congress passed an act, approved March 4, 1815, which inaugurated what was known as "limited maritime reciprocity," and thus took away some of the protection to shipping granted under the laws of 1789 and 1794.

In 1817 Congress passed another act of reciprocity, which had the effect of further impairing protection to American shipping. In 1819 our shipping had fallen lower than it had been for twenty-two years.

The "free-freighting act" of 1828, as it was called, was in the interest of foreign ship-owners. This act and the subsequent treaties led to the ruin of our carrying in our foreign trade. While advantage of it was soon taken by a few of the lesser maritime nations, it was not availed of by the more powerful, notably Great Britain, for many years, in consequeence of which our losses of carriage were more gradual and less noticed than they would have been had the discrimination ceased upon its adoption. This act is even now in force, and nations are not yet done asking for its benefits. The treaties following it have brought us not one, but destroyed all advantages we had under protection by discriminating duties.

During the four years of the civil war American ships lost in carrying our imports about 30 per cent., and our exports 45 per cent. From the close of the war until 1890 these losses have been about 14 per cent. in carrying imports and 17 per cent. of exports.

Between 1830 and 1860 there was little or no legislation in favor of shipping, except the subsidy act of 1845, which was in operation about twelve years, being repealed by an act of Congress approved by President Buchanan June 14, 1858. During the existence of this act American carrying in our foreign trade increased, but declined after its repeal. While in force, in order to counteract its good effects, Great Britain increased her subsidies to English shipping from $3,000,000 to $5,000,000 per annum.

All attempts for fifty years to aid our shipping by mail pay and subsidies have been failures, and it still remains for Congress, in the face of these failures, to adopt a protective policy for the upbuilding of the American merchant marine.

England, under her system of navigation laws in full force for about one hundred and thirty years, laid the foundation for the present prosperous condition of her shipping and commercial supremacy. We are told that England has free trade in shipping and maritime reciprocity, and, as a result, controls one-half the carrying of the world, and therefore this policy is best for the United States. But the conditions are not the same. In the matter of shipping the United States is in one sense now where England was when she enacted her navigation laws, and we are not as well off as when we adopted discriminating duties in 1794. If the United States had enjoyed for one hundred and thirty years the benefits of such navigation laws and had followed them by discriminating duties, large subsidies, and mail pay, then our people might be willing to adopt free trade in shipping. We would then start in the struggle on equal footing. Great Britain adopted free trade on land before she adopted it on the sea, and the United States would do well not to adopt free trade in shipping until after it is tried on land.

The proposed shipping bill simply imposes an ad valorem duty of 10 per cent. in addition to existing duties, or in case of no duty, a duty of 10 per cent. on all goods, wares, and merchandise imported into the United States in foreign vessels. If these same products should be imported in American ships, then there is no additional duty, and if free they would still remain free if brought in American ships. The bill does not prohibit or exclude foreign vesels from carrying our foreign commerce, as the navigation laws of Great Britain did once. The bill leaves to the importer the choice of bringing his goods in foreign ships and paying an additional duty of 10 per cent. on their value for this privilege, or of bringing them in American ships and paying no additional duty. Great Britain kept just such a law in force for nearly two hundred years, not repealing it until 1849. The bill grants protection enjoyed by industries on land and shipping in the coastwise trade to American interests on the high seas. Whatever limitation or restriction is imposed by the policy of discriminating duties is in the direction of better protection to home manufactures and home industries and in favor of shipping and building American ships—two good results. The bill, however, is not intended in any sense to raise revenues; its sole purpose is to build up American shipping.

The bill is plain, simple, direct, and easily understood. It strikes out boldly to render help to an industry that is languishing and without help must perish. When the makers of the Government, immediately after the adoption of the Constitution, desired to encourage and build up shipping, they adopted the policy set forth in this bill. They passed other acts in aid of shipping, all of them short, direct, and to the point, and this was all that was done. They did not formulate and bring into Congress a complicated system of navigation laws, full of technicalities and full of details, drafted to meet every requirement and every objection that could be raised. They saw what was needed, and that unless something should be done American shipping on the high seas would disappear, and provided what they conceived to be the proper remedy. All the acts on the subject were passed in five years, and would not cover a page in our Revised Statutes. They were parts of laws on different subjects, mainly the tariff, and, like the bill under consideration, consisted only of a few lines.

The Government was then in its infancy, in debt and without credit, with a population of only 3,000,000, the people poor, and without money. We now have 70,000,000 of population and unsurpassed credit. In the face of all the difficulties that met the makers of the Government, they proceeded without hesitation, without doubt, without fear of opposition or of retaliation, to take care of all the interests of the new Government on sea as well as on land. They succeeded beyond their expectations, and the result in the growth of our industries on sea and land was the most remarkable in history. Just the same determination and same purpose is required now. The United States is able to enforce any policy it may adopt.

American carrying must be built up under the operation of law, a law that will discriminate in favor of American ships in carrying our foreign trade, especially our imports. If we had abandoned seventy years ago the policy of excluding foreign-built vessels from our coastwise trade, that trade to-day would be largely in the hands of foreign shipowners and in a condition as deplorable as our ocean carrying. Had we continued the policy of protection to our carrying, shipping in our foreign trade to-day would be in as prosperous condition as our manufacturing interests. The policy of discriminating duties is not an experiment, it is not untried; on the contrary, it was on trial for a long period under the most unfavorable conditions and produced the best results.

It is believed that the adoption of discriminating duties, with such suplemental legislation that might be found necessary in the light of experience, the results would be as beneficial as in the early history of the Government and felt at once. First. It would give us immediately a large share in carrying our foreign commerce, all of our imports and part of our exports, and a share in carrying the commerce of countries not owning ships. Second. It would increase shipbuilding; new shipyards would spring up on all our coasts, causing the expenditure of hundreds of millions of capital. Third. Shipbuilding would stimulate other industries of all kinds; it would give employment to thousands of skilled and other workmen. Fourth. It would save to the people of the United States annually nearly $100,000,000 now paid to foreign ship-owners for carrying our imports, with the chance in a few years of saving another hundred millions by the increase of shipping and the carrying of a large part of the world's commerce in American bottoms. Fifth. It would not only build up shipping in the foreign trade, but it would be the means of extending our trade in the foreign markets of the world.

One of the reasons urged against the passage of the bill under consideration is that Great Britain and other ship-owning countries will retaliate. But just how or in what way the opponents of the bill do not clearly set forth. The damage to our shipping that might follow retaliation is imaginary. Under the operation of maritime reciprocity and neglect, we have scarcely any shipping left in our foreign trade. It would be far better to carry in American ships our imports or 50 per cent. of our foreign commerce, which we would do under discriminating duties, with retaliation against us, than to carry only 11 per cent., as we do now, with no retaliation.

But should European countries adopt retaliation, they must do it in a way not to increase the cost of our farm products to their people. Two-thirds of all our exports to Great Britain are food products, and she can not afford to increase the price of these products to her people. It is doubtful whether England would retaliate; to do so would be to adopt protection and reverse her free-trade policy. Why do not England and other European countries retaliate against our levying duties of from 40 to 50 per cent. on their manufactured products which we import? Simply because it is not to their interest to retaliate; and for the same reason it will not be to their interest to retaliate against discriminating duties in favor of American carrying. The best answer, however, to this fear of retaliation is our experience in the early history of the Government, under discriminating duties at a time when the Government was just beginning its national life, our population small, and our resources undeveloped. During the entire period the United States maintained discriminating duties England adhered to the same policy. Not only did she cling tenaciously to the policy of discriminating duties, but she retaliated in every way she could against American carrying under discriminating duties. But all to no purpose. In the face of her retaliation and opposition American carrying increased, and this increase was maintained until 1828, when we abandoned discriminating duties for maritime reciprocity.

It is urged in opposition to the passage of the bill under consideration that it would be a violation of certain commercial treaties entered into with Great Britain and other nations, and that these treaties should not be violated with impunity. When the United States wishes to restore its shipping and become independent on sea as on land, a treaty with England, covered with the dust of nearly a century, is brought forth, and we are solemnly told its sacred provisions must not be violated, and we must remain bound hand and foot, powerless to help ourselves, though what is proposed is right and proper and would benefit our interests. No treaty should stand in the way of our having what belongs to us as a matter of right and having our fair share of the carrying trade of the world. Of course no treaty should be violated as long as it is in force, but this bill expressly proposes in terms to abrogate all treaties or parts of treaties in conflict with the provisions of the bill. Among the ways a treaty may be terminated or abrogated, one is by act of Congress. This was in contemplation of the contracting powers when these treaties were entered into and ratified.

The cost of ocean freight is estimated to be 15 per cent. of the value of exports and 10 per cent. of the value of imports, or an average of 12 1-2 per cent. of the value of exports and imports for carrying the same.

The value of our exports and imports is about seventeen hundred millions of dollars per annum. The cost of carrying these products is two hundred millions per annum, the amount annually paid by Americans for carrying what they produce and sell and what they buy. To this must be added about thirty millions for carrying passengers, making in all two hundred and thirty millions. Of this freight and passenger business, American ship-owners carry about 10 per cent., or nearly two hundred millions, and therefore receive one-tenth of the cost of the ocean freight, which would be nearly $20,000,000, and foreigners the balance, or two hundred millions. If by any policy this $200,000,000 per annum, or the half of it, could be paid to American instead of foreign ship-owners, thereby keeping this immense sum of money at home, what a change it would make in the balance of trade in our favor, and what a stimulus it would be to shipbuilding and other branches of industry.

In one sense the two hundred millions we pay to foreign ship-owners is a loss to our people. It is unlike almost any other expenditure. Substantially we get nothing in return for it; nothing that adds to the wealth of the country. When we buy goods and products from other nations and pay gold for the same, we get the goods in return, and they constitute part of the wealth of the nation. But when we pay out two hundred millions annually for ocean freight on goods we buy and sell, when we could keep it at home by paying it to American ship-owners, we simply deplete the resources of the country and make the people poorer.

It would be unwise and unsafe for a merchant doing a large business to intrust to his rivals and competitors the hauling and delivery of the goods he might buy and sell.

Corporations or individuals doing a business of buying and selling seventeen hundred million dollars of products per annum would never allow rivals or competitors to control the transportation of these products. The parties doing the business would not be willing to lose the profits to be made on the transportation, and beyond this they would not be willing to put their business under the control of rivals, for fear it might happen that they might not be able or would refuse to do the transportation. So it is with the Government. It should adopt a policy that would allow its own people to have the business and enjoy the profits resulting from carrying its foreign commerce, and added to this, in emergencies or in case of war be independent and not run the risk of having its commerce destroyed. The United States only strengthens the hands of its rivals in shipping and commerce by giving them the carrying of what our people buy and sell.

The plan or remedy for restoring shipping by subsidies and mail pay has been strongly advocated. If this form of aid had been adopted when discriminating duties were abandoned seventy years ago, or even thirty years ago, and we had kept pace with Great Britain in all other forms of support and encouragement to shipping, we might depend upon subsidies and mail pay as a remedy now.

But with all the advantages, commercial and maritime, which Great Britain enjoys, we can never by equal or even greater subsidies regain our lost shipping. Great Britain has fifty years the advantage of the United States in the growth and development of shipping. She is established and firmly intrenched, and in possession of 56 per cent. of the world's carrying trade, and this percentage is increasing; her merchants and bankers are established in all the important ports of the world; she has 15,000 vessels afloat, manned by more than 200,000 seamen; is rich in accumulated capital, and enjoys low rates of interest.

These are advantages that only come by time; they can not be bought with money. Enjoying all these advantages, Great Britain in any struggle for commercial supremacy or to hold her shipping would naturally appropriate two dollars for every one the United States might appropriate in the way of subsidy.

In 1894 the loss to Great Britain in mail subsidies was $2,250,000 over and above the receipts for carrying the mails. It is estimated that her subsidies, mail pay, and other aids amount annually from $3,500,000 to $4,000,000, which in twenty years would amount to $70,000,000.Another objection to aid by subsidies is, it can not be general and discriminates in favor of the lines receiving it and against those that do not. Aid should be general and extend equally and alike to all kinds of shipping, both steam and sail. Discriminating duties would help all shipping alike.

The founders of the Government did not attempt to subsidize shipping. They did not favor this policy, or, if so, they did not have the money to carry it out. Practically we are in the same position. We can not subsidize shipping on a scale that will be effective and commensurate with its needs, because the people will not consent to appropriating the public money for this purpose. To aid and subsidize shipping to the extent that would be necesssary in face of the opposition of Great Britain and other ship-owning countries would require hundreds of millions of dollars to be appropriated from the Treasury.

The American people will not submit to this. They will not consent to building up private and corporate industries by taking money out of the Treasury; but a policy that will keep money in the country they will unquestionably sustain.

The policy of free ships, which is in substance the authority under law to buy foreign-built ships and admit them to American registry, is seriously urged as the best remedy to revive American shipping. Maritime reciprocity, which we have had for seventy years,is partial free trade in shipping. To adopt the policy of free ships would give us absolute free trade in shipping. We would then have a protective policy for industries on land, and for industries on the sea just the opposite. If it be true that shipping goes hand in hand with other industries, and in a certain sense stimulates them, why should we not adopt the same policy as to shipping that we do as to industries on land? Why have one policy for industries on the sea and another for those on land? England's greatest industry is shipping, and she protects it by subsidies, and in many other ways, and yet in the face of this protection we are asked to have free trade in shipping and no aid or protection, as the best means to compete with England and revive American shipping.

So far as our shipbuilding interest is concerned, the free-ship policy would reduce the United States to a state of dependence and vassalage. If the United States had in the beginning adopted the policy of free trade instead of protection, on the ground that we should buy manufactured products abroad because we could get them cheaper, our manufacturing interests to-day would be in the deplorable condition our shipping is. But for the protective policy adopted in the early history of our Government, and adhered to since, we could not have built up our manufacturing interests. The object of imposing duties on foreign-made products was not only for the purpose of getting needed revenue to pay the expenses of the Government, but its greater and wider purpose was to build up the manufacturing interests so that we might be independent of all the world. The same rule applies to shipbuilding and shipping interests. Because we can buy ships cheaper from foreign shipbuilders is not a sufficient reason for doing so. If we should pursue this policy, we never would build our own ships, we never would have a merchant marine or a navy.

We have had a partial free trade in shipping for seventy years. We are now asked to adopt the policy of absolute free trade in shipping as a remedy to rescue American shipping from the condition it is in as a result of maritime reciprocity. Free trade in shipping is urged as a remedy for the evils brought on by partial free trade.

Foreign ships now carry nine-tenths of our foreign commerce. Free-ship advocates say that we should buy ships abroad to carry the one-tenth we now carry in American-built ships, so as to increase shipping. If we had 100 of the finest steamers afloat, we could not run them in competition with foreign ships. The conditions are not the same. We are not on an equal footing with Great Britain and other ship-owning countries on the high seas. If we attempted to make conditions equal by subsidies and mail pay, the policy now adopted by Great Britain, we would be met with greater subsidies. So that it is not a question of free ships or cheap ships, but it is a question of getting business for ships after we have them. We can only do this by protection and discrimination, just as we do now and have for one hundred years discriminated in favor of our industries on land against foreign industries.

The mistake made by the United States for seventy years has been in treating shipping as a private industry and of no national concern; that it did not need encouragement and protection as industries on land; that maritime reciprocity and free carrying was all that was necessary to build it up. With Great Britain shipping has always been of national concern and national importance and has received more protection and aid than any industry ever enjoyed in any country.

The United States has become independent of all the world in everything on land. We can produce all that is needful for the wants of a great people, but when we come to the sea, nothwithstanding our coast line, our position, and natural advantages, we are helpless, impotent, and dependent.

If we buy ships abroad, we have the ships, it is true, but as a nation we lose the money we pay for them, we lose the business of building the ships, the employment for our people by giving it to foreigners, and lose the market for the raw and manufactured products that enter into shipbuilding, we destroy our shipyards and become utterly dependent on foreign countries in one of the most important branches of industry. Even if we could buy ships cheaper abroad, in the long run it would pay us to build them at home. If the argument for free ships is good as a plan to build up our merchant marine, why should this plan not apply with equal force to building warships? Why have different plans for interests so nearly alike? If it is better to buy ships abroad to build up our merchant marine, it would be better for the same reason to buy our warships abroad and close up all American shipyards.

No nation can maintain successfully for any length of time a navy unless there is behind it a merchant marine. Shipping is the element out of which a navy must grow. In the United States we are building a navy without having a merchant marine behind it to support it. This is something like making a head without a body. We should first have a merchant marine and then a navy and native Americans to man both. We have not enough native American seamen to man the warships we now have. If we build up shipping and shipbuilding, it will increase our home commerce and our lake and coastwise trade. We are in the infancy of our industries on our lakes, rivers, and foreign seas. During the next century seagoing ships built in American shipyards will leave Chicago and other lake cities for the ports of the world.

No nation can be truly independent and have and maintain a navy and merchant marine that does not build its own ships. If the United States in 1860 had had a merchant marine and a navy equal in proportion to that we had in 1812, under discriminating duties it is safe to say that our civil war could not have lasted more than a year. But for the want of a navy and merchant marine the war lasted four years, and cost nearly a million of lives and thousands of millions of dollars, most of which might have been saved.

After full and fair trial, the free-ship policy has been a signal failure in France, Germany, Austria, and Italy. Norway has increased her shipping under free-ships. This is due to the fact of low wages and low prices of supplies and other conditions peculiar to that country. England after building up her shipping through discriminating duties and subsidies on an enormous scale, until she has the advantage over all nations, adopts the policy of free-ships because it is to her interest. She advocates free-ships because she builds ships for the nations that buy them, and naturally she wants all other nations, the United States especially, to adopt free-ships. In 1894 the new tonnage built in her shipyards amounted to over 1,000,000 tons, 13 per cent. of which was sold to other countries. Under maritime reciprocity in fifty years, according to Mulhall, British shipping has increased 210 per cent., while that of other nations has increased 108 per cent., and that of the United States constantly declined. During this period British shipping has increased from carrying 34 per cent. of the world's commerce to carrying 56 per cent. of it. If this rate of increase continues, it is only a question of time when Great Britain will absorb the carrying of the commerce of the world.

It is said that trade follows the flag. That is to say, trade follows shipping. Wherever ships go, trade follows.

The people of the United States, without distinction of party, earnestly desire to enlarge and extend their foreign trade; to sell more of their manufactured and agricultural products. The best means to this end is to increase our carrying. No nation can have its just and proper share in its foreign commerce and in the foreign markets unless it is an owner and builder of ships. The nation that owns shipping has a great advantage in extending its trade and commerce over a nation that has no ships. The nation that carries the products it sends to foreign markets can establish and maintain its trade better than a nation that simply sells its surplus products and leaves other nations to do the carrying. Shipping and trade go hand in hand. The United States has a large foreign trade, but this would be doubled if its people owned ships and had a merchant marine in proportion. The greatest difficulty in the way of extending our foreiegn trade and selling our surplus products is that the people of other countries own the shipping, and naturally try to sell products of their own country. A nation productive as the United States should carry in its own ships a large part of its foreign commerce; at least the goods it buys and part of all it sells.

Prince Bismarck said:

The merchant service is the handmaid of all other industries, and of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. On the day when the freieght trade is given over to foreigners a mortal blow will be dealt to all the industries of the country.

This is true. While the progress of the United States in building up its industries on land has excited the wonder of the world, yet greater and more substantial progress would have been made had we been able to develop and build up with equal pace our industries on the sea. What we have accomplished in our material progress has been without the aid of one of the most important auxiliaries to our prosperity. Thomas Jefferson said that "agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation are the four pillars of prosperity." In order that our material development should be symmetrical, all of these should go hand in hand; but we have moved forward with one of these great interests neglected for seventy years, until now it is in a languishing condition and not helpful to the other branches of industry.

S. B. Elkins.

TRADE WANTED, NOT TERRITORIAL EXPANSION.

By HON. WHARTON BARKER,
Editor "American."

OF all our foreign trades that which it is most worth our while to cultivate is the trade with the countries lying south of us. In the very nature of things this must be so, for they are situate in a different clime and their products are of a different kind than ours. Indeed, much that they produce we just cannot, and consequently such produce we must buy or go without. And, as we have to buy, it stands to reason that it is to our advantage to buy from the nearest markets, buy rich produce from the West Indies rather than the East, from the Republics to the south rather than from the peoples of the Orient, for surely it cannot be to our advantage to bring produce from six to ten thousand miles when like produce can be gotten from lands only a few hundred or perhaps three thousand miles distant from our shores.

It may here be objected that inasmuch as we do to some extent buy in the more distant markets in preference to the nearer, it must be to our advantage to do so. Else, it is said, we would not buy, for the law of self-interest impels men to buy in the cheapest markets. So, it is argued, leave men alone, rely implicitly on the law of self-interest to give trade its direction and development and all will work out for the best. But the law of self interest is often-times none other than the law of selfishness and reared upon the sentiment that found expression amidst the revelries of the court of Louis

XV, in the trite saying of "after me the deluge," that is to say, "so long as we may have our pleasures we care not what comes to France, care not what the future may have in store." And surely, no good comes to a nation from building upon such law of selfishness, or from giving men full license to build upon it.

In short, an easy going permission for men to follow the law of self interest will not always bring things out for the best, will not always lead to the development of trade in the most advantageous direction. And why? Simply because men impelled by the supreme spirit of selfishness, will be prone to grasp at an immediate profit even though such grasping and taking must cause a drying up of source and a cutting off of profits for future years. Indeed men will be sure to embark on that trade that holds out the prospect of greatest immediate profit. They will so embark even though such new trade will paralyze an old of less but sustained profits, even though the greater profits of the new trade will be squeezed out in a few years and thus leave them with a dry spring. In fact men will be constrained so to embark, competition will force them, even though they see that the grasping for larger immediate profits will inevitably lead to a drying up of all the wells of profit.

They will be so constrained for a few acting on the principle of "After me the deluge," or so short-sighted as not to see that they are acting on such principle and killing the goose of the golden egg, will leave the many with no alternative but to join in the slaughtering process and get what profit they can ere the carcase is picked dry. And surely it does no country good to encourage its citizens to act on this principle, to build trade up on this principle, to reach out for a foreign trade at the expense of a home trade, to reach out for distant foreign markets at the cost of nearer and hence more natural markets.

Yet we are on a fair way to doing just this. Indeed the government is urged to do this and by none more strongly than some Republican manufacturers who once styled themselves protectionists, who once thought, or said they did, that a cheap coat makes a cheap man, who thought home markets as the nearest markets the best markets, but who now think more of extending the foreign markets than the home market and in their anxiety to extend that market declare cheapness, a cheap man and a cheap coat to be a very good thing. And indeed this policy is being pursued with a vengeance. This policy of extending foreign markets, without thought of home, is pushed with great vigor and with much vehemence.

What is more, the demand is most urgent that this extension be pushed with countries most distant from us, countries of the Orient. The advocates of this policy do not entertain any doubt of the advisability of extending our trade with the tropical countries of the Orient at the expense of trade with the countries to the south of us, of our increasing our purchases from such distant markets in preference to markets nearer home. Of course it is undeniable that the cost of bringing produce from six to ten thousand miles to our markets must be greater than the cost of bringing produce from distances of four hundred up to three or four thousand miles, but still it is said it is to our advantage to in some cases bring the produce we use the greater distance. If it was not to our advantage, so it is asserted with confidence, we would not do so. If it was not to the advantage of the importing merchants they would not so buy, and what is their advantage must be their country's advantage.

So it is argued, but the importing merchant buys where he can buy cheapest, and it is not always to the advantage of a country to buy in the cheapest markets. This may shock some of laissez faire, leave things alone, no government interference with trade and then what is is it but school—shock them as heterodox, but buying in the cheapest markets when those markets are cheapest because what therein is offered is cheapest because made by cheapest labor amounts to pauperizing oneself. There must be two sides to trade, a selling as well as a buying. And a buying from a land of cheapest men means a selling to such land, and a selling upon such cheap men basis. If we buy a greater share of our imports of tropical goods from the East Indies we must buy a lesser share from the west. And if we buy less from the West Indies there must come a piling up of products in Cuba and Porto Rico seeking for an outlet, a consequent fall in prices and a general impoverishment of the people of those islands. Receiving smaller returns for their products, their demands for our products must be restricted. Consequently a natural outlet for the surplus products of our farms and factories would be curtailed, and an increase in outlet to a like extent cannot be hoped for among the poorer people of the East from whom we may choose to buy in preference to the peoples to the south of us who would be our better customers. So goods would pile up on our markets and the resulting pressure for sale force down prices. At last at some reduced price level a market would be found, but in finding such market we would further pauperize our own people. So then to purchase tropical products in the Orient in preference to the countries to the north of us, is to grind down our own people to pauperism. So we see it is not always to one's advantage to buy in the cheapest markets. As we set out by saying it is to our advantage to buy, what not producing we must import, in the nearest markets. The shorter the distance that we have to bring foreign purchases the smaller will be the cost of transportation, and hence the nearer will our people come as consumers to getting such products at the prices the producers receive. It is for this very same reason that the home market is preferable to a foreign market, that it is to our advantage to buy what we can of ourselves. It may be that some things we now buy of ourselves we could get for less money of foreigners if it were not for the tariff duties, but if such foreign cheapness is the result of cheap labor, we care not whether it be European or Asiatic, it is not to our advantage to avail of it. To so avail would throw those of our own people engaged in such production out of work, thus making an increased pressure on the labor market and generally force down wages. Nor would the farmer or planter buying such cheap foreign goods save, for the impoverishing of the laboring population would cut down the home consumption and demand for the products of the farm and plantation and so depress prices.

The rejoinder of the free trader is, of course, that though the home demand would be curtailed, the foreign demand would be increased because our increased purchases of foreign goods would enable the foreigners to purchase more of ours. And this we will admit as a general proposition. But the foreigner, though his returns were increased as much as the returns of our manufacturer and his hands were decreased, could not purchase as much of our agricultural products, for a portion of such return would be absorbed in the transportation of the products across the sea. Consequently the demand for such products would be curtailed. But the foreigners' returns would not be increased to the full amount of the former returns of our manufacturer and hands forced into some other pursuit, for the American farmer getting smaller returns than before would have less to spend for such manufactured goods than before and then from what he had to spend would have to be deducted the ocean freight charges on bringing such foreign goods to our shores.

So to avail of the cheapness of foreign goods when such cheapness is the result of cheap labor, must entail upon us the loss of the extra sums dispensed on transportation accounts because of purchasing and selling in more distant markets, because of the wide separation of producer and consumer. And so to avail of a cheapness in Oriental markets as compared to South American or West Indian markets, when such cheapness is due to cheap labor, is but to entail upon ourselves a loss equal to the difference between the greater cost of bringing the produce from the East, the more distant markets, and the lesser costs of bringing similar produce from countries of this hemisphere, which for us are much nearer markets.

Of course, where cheapness is not due to cheaper labor, but to some natural cause, then it is to our advantage to avail of such cheapness. In other words, where any other people have a natural advantage over us as in the production of some article and that advantage enables them to produce at a lesser cost of labor and energy than we can, a lesser cost more than equal to the increased cost that purchasing from them will put us to on account of increased costs of transportation, then it is to our own advantage to buy such article, not to keep out such article by tariff duties and strive to produce it for ourselves. And where there are several lands equally enjoying such natural advantage, then it is to our advantage to buy in the nearest and thus keep down our outlay on transportations to as small a figure as possible. And nearly all these products that we cannot produce on terms of equality with all the world so far as natural conditions favorable to production are concerned, are tropical products, and product conditions for the production of which are just as favorable in the countries lying to the south of us as anywhere on the globe. Consequently from such countries, as the nearest, we should buy in preference to the lands of the East. Further, there are many things which we produce but which such countries cannot produce to advantage. Thus these tropical countries lying to the south of us cannot produce to any advantage the wheat and flour they desire; they cannot produce to any economic advantage many articles of manufacture, for they are lacking in coal fields. So it is to their advantage to buy such products, buy them in exchange for the peculiar products of the tropics. And these things we can supply them with. What is more, being nearest to them they should naturally look to us.

So between the United States and the countries and islands south, there exist all the elements for a mutually advantageous trade, a trade more advantageous for all than any other foreign trade can possibly be. Therefore would we encourage it, encourage it if we could have our own way even to the extent of establishing a commercial union that would secure absolute free trade between all the countries of the western hemisphere and give a common tariff to all. And into such union we would gladly welcome Canada. Of course such union, such extension of a common tariff would greatly derange the revenue systems of all countries concerned and oblige all to look up new sources of revenue. But we would have no regrets for such derangement and the disappearance to some extent of the practice of raising revenues by tariff duties. Indeed, such duties being levied on consumption, and largely on articles of general consumption, par-take much of the nature of per capita taxes, as such are inequitable and their supercession by juster taxes, taxes imposed not upon men's needs, but upon what they have, should be welcomed. However, the plan of such a customs' union is rather Utopian and as such we need hardly stop to discuss such questions as the above, though the bringing of Cuba and Porto Rico into our Union, so far as commercial relations are concerned, is probable, is almost necessary, and the consequent nullification of the sugar duties as revenue yielders would raise such question. But though such a broad American customs' union is not yet within reach, the right direction in which to extend our trade is with the countries to the south of us, and there are many steps short of the forming of a customs' union by which such trade can be greatly encouraged, but we will not discuss them now. And it being so much worth our while to cultivate this trade, a trade that must be advantageous to us above all others, always excepting our home trade, we are disposed to look most favorably on any suggestion for the encouragement of it. In fine, countries to the south of us have just what we want and cannot supply ourselves with, and we can supply these countries with all the things that they cannot supply themselves with to advantage. Thus here is the foundation for the most profitable and mutually satisfactory trade, and in bending our efforts to extend our foreign trade it is this that we should cultivate.

Wharton Barker

NEED OF A MERCHANT MARINE.

By HON. GEORGE F. EDMUNDS,
Ex-U. S. Senator.

IN my long service in the United States Senate I favored the taking of measures to bring back the carrying trade into our own hands, and, by that means, to increase the exportation and sale of all the abundant productions of our country, beginning with the farm, the mine and the forest, and running through all our manufacturing industries to the very last and finest fabrications that, from the crude material, have gone through the hands of thousands of different workmen and have increased in value a thousandfold.

It is this working up of the raw material and selling the final product that produces national prosperity and wealth, which means the gain and saving of the men and women, from the first to the last, who contribute to or do the work. The factory can do nothing without the first and essential aid of the farm, the mine and the forest.

The workmen can do nothing without the mills, tools and other appliances of all sorts, nor without fair and prompt pay. They must support themselves and their families in comfort and educate their children.

Their employers cannot pay them unless they can find markets for and sell their goods so made. Therefore, the more extensive and varied the markets the greater is the opportunity for all these co-operative works to go on successfully. All this is self-evident, but, like other self-evident truths, it cannot be stated too often, for on it depends the whole co-operative life and happiness of the nation.

Thus it is manifest that every occupation and every accumulation of capital in our country have a common interest in promoting the increase of our export trade. How, then, can this be best done? The producing and commercial classes of other nations know and have known for a long time how they can achieve best these large ends for themselves; they and their governments know that the only effectual way is to have the means of transportation their own and always in their own control, in peace and in war. They know that in time of peace the flag of their own country at the masthead is a constant guarantee of safety and respect, and also that it is a continual and free advertisement of the goods their ships carry, as the production of their country.

No farmer, if he could help it, would send his product to even the nearest market by the wagon of his neighboring farmer, or any other conveyance whose owner had the same sort of things to sell; he knows that if he would find the best customers and get the best prices he must run his own wagon, or control his own means of transportation. The farmer, the miner, the manufacturer and the merchant, each and all are in the same case.

In our own country and among themselves, they know this perfectly well and act upon it as best they can.

Any man, any nation, or any country that trusts his or its competitors to do any part of his business is sure to fail in the end. All farmers, all miners, all the manufacturers, and all the merchants, etc., make up the family of the nation, for a nation is nothing else than a union of all these really co-operating families. Just like a single personal family they must co-operate, or else the family will grow poor in comparison with the neighboring family, of which all the members try to help each other.

What, then, are we to do in order to restore in common to all our people the full and best benefits of trade in those foreign markets which may need our produce and manufactured articles of all kinds?

That our own means of communication and transportation are chiefly necessary the experience of centuries among all nations has proved true.

A single illustration among scores that might be referred to of this truth may be stated.

It appears in British history that our forefathers in the colonies had become "the carriers for all the colonies of North America and the West Indies," and that, as a consequence, the British home manufactures, as well as those of the Dutch, etc., were being pushed out of the markets, and the produce and manufactures of our colonies carried in. So measures were taken by the British King and the British Parliament to grant monopolies to British companies to trade in the West Indies.

It may be stated briefly that the nation which has the quickest and best means of communication under its own flag and authority, with other nations, will surely have the best share of foreign trade.

As I have said, the flag of a country at the masthead of its ships is a great advertisement of the productions it has to sell, just as in every town of our country, the name of the producer, the manufacturer, and the merchant on his wagon that delivers his goods is.

There are only four possible ways of reaching the end of putting our country for all its people on a fair footing with other countries in the respect before mentioned.

First, discriminating duties.

This method, in view of our treaties with many other nations, would take a long time to put into operation—so long that the trade would become still more firmly established in the hands of our competitors, and, if adopted, would be likely to lead to countervailing discriminations by other governments. Recent experience has also shown that very powerful, and, perhaps, controlling influences, would very likely be able to prevent the adoption of discriminating duties, even in the cases where no treaty obligation stands in the way.

Second, it has been suggested that a bounty on the exportation in foreign as well as American vessels of the products of the farm, such as wheat and corn, etc., should be provided for by Congress.

Such a scheme, I think, would prove wholly illusory.

In the first place, the producer, whose crop goes through the hands of the middlemen and the shippers, will surely find that he gets no more for his crop than he would without the bounty, and that the middleman, the shipper, and the foreign market agent, have taken all the bounty, and that the Treasury of the United States, which is his treasury, has been exhausted to that extent with no good to him.

In the second place, it is perfectly plain that no law can be passed to give this bounty. The producers, the manufacturers, and the laborers are all co-operative parts of the whole national family, and no class can or ought to be favored without the other. But it may be answered that we have given bounties to the fisheries, and to the producers of sugar; so we have.

As to fisheries, the bounties were given because we must have for national defense a portion of our citizens always taught and skillful in ships and the work of the sea, so that our navies might find the men ready to carry our flag on to victory, as at Manila and at Santiago, and in other like emergencies that for the present age are likely to come to every nation.

As to the sugar bounty of a few years ago, it was given in order, if possible, to diminish the enormous drain on the earnings of our own people in buying foreign grown sugar.

If, for example, only one-tenth of the wheat, corn and pork consumed in the United States were produced in our country, nearly every citizen would favor any law tending to increase home production.

Happily for us, our farms, mines, forests and manufactured products do not in general fall into these classes. All are abundant, and in every part of our country almost all things necessary to the comfort of our people can be produced, and thus every interest is reciprocally common with every other.

A bounty, therefore, on the exportation of the particular products of one kind of industry would be an invidious distinction against all others.

Third—Postal subsidies have been suggested as an adequate means to aid in the restoration of American shipping.

Such subsidies are undoubtedly useful, as other nations have found, but they are only useful, or, indeed, possible as auxiliary aids to merchant vessels carrying cargoes, and except on great and established lines of transportation, it would be absolutely impossible to give postal subsidies sufficient to enable the vessels to run.

Fourth—The only other method to the great national end that almost everybody professes to be for, is the one, substantially contained in the measure proposed in the last Congress.

The measure has been so much misunderstood by some of those citizens who wish to increase our shipping interests, and so misrepresented by those who, from whatever motive, desire to prevent anything being done that it is proper to state concisely what the fundamental features of the measure were.

1. It provided for the systematic payment, limited to a definite period of time, of sufficient compensation, and only a sufficient one, to American vessels sailing to and from foreign ports, in order to enable them to perform the voyage with a fairly full cargo of American products and returning with a fairly full cargo of imports. Without the cargoes the shipowners could not afford to make the voyages and thus get the compensation. The effect, therefore, would be to help American cargoes in American ships to every foreign port where such cargoes could possibly be disposed of, and thus open to American trade in ports where American vessels are now almost never seen, and where a very few American products are now sold, as well as to increase our trade in ports and countries where we already have some trade carried on in foreign ships and always under the influence of foreign prejudice and foreign competition.

2. This first and main proposition made the business and the compensation open to every American shipbuilder, to every American ship owner and to every American industry. There could be no trusts, pools or syndicates, inasmuch as the sea is open to all, and a single ship with its cargo would be absolutely free and independent. No line or combination could be favored, as they must usually be and almost always are when subsidies are given to particular lines for carrying the mails, etc., etc.

The treasury was guarded by the fact above stated that the vessels could not run without a paying cargo, for the compensation was so small that the cargo was indispensable to the profits of the voyage, and the sending of the cargoes is the very thing the people of the United States need to accomplish.

4. The bill required that the ships built and used for this purpose should be capable of naval use in time of need and could be taken at any time by the United States for this purpose.

5. The bill also provided for these vessels taking and educating a certain number of American boys in the various branches of seamanship, so that if the vessels should be able to operate with the aid provided there would always be a large and increasing number of Americans who would be able in time of need to defend the interests of the country.

6. The bill also provided that these vessels should carry the mails of the United States, whenever required, free of charge, and thus direct communication by postal facilities would be established to every port where these compensated vessels should go.

7. The bill also provided that no arrangement should be made under it after ten years from the passage of the act, and it also provided for various and exhaustive limitations and safeguards in the interest of the public service.

The foregoing is, in substance, a statement of the main and important features of the scheme.

If we are really in earnest in wishing to take measures to increase our foreign trade and dispose of the vast and increasing amount of our surplus products by having the whole business, so far as possible, in our own hands, protected and advertised by our own flag, and put ourselves in a strong and undisturbed position in case of war between the powers that now possess the chief carrying trade of the globe, and if we wish to do it in such a way as to help all citizens alike, without favoritism and partiality, I know of no means so sure to accomplish it as the scheme above described.

The state of commercial competition for foreign markets between the producing and manufacturing nations is growing more and more intense, and if anything is to be done to put the United States on a secure footing it should be done quickly.

Other nations are perfectly right in taking every peaceable means to increase the markets for the sale of the productions of their citizens, but while our carrying trade remains in the hands of other nations our export trade will always be at a disadvantage, and in case of war between any of the principal powers would be in danger of being injuriously broken up or obstructed unless we shall have our own ships and our own flag to carry it on and protect it.

Geo. F. Edmunds

COIN AND CURRENCY ISSUE.

THE more than twenty years of agitation of the coin and currency issue in Congress and before the people, prior to 1896, attests its intricacy and importance. In 1896 it squarely divided the great political parties, and the issue was fought to a supposable finish before the American electorate. But it would not down with the verdict at the polls. Neither would it retire with the legislative enactment of the Fifty-sixth Congress, which declared for a gold standard, if rigidly interpreted. That legislation, in keeping with the pledges of a triumphant party, is binding upon its opponents only until it can be rescinded. And the disposition is to test its popularity and righteousness, at least once more, before the tribunal of the people. Under changed circumstances and with reinforced arguments and appeals, the battle will be a royal one between forces, a part of which operates from an entrenched position, while the other part must supplement valor with the ardor of desperation.

Even the legislation of the second session of the 56th Congress, already alluded to, aiming as it does at the establishment of a gold basis, may be found inconvenient and defective in some of its parts, and an invitation to attack, thus furnishing to opponents an opportunity to repeat former arguments or invent new ones. Should such prove to be the case, the polemical situation that arose after the passage of the McKinley tariff act will arise again; that is, those who favor such currency legislation must assume a defensive attitude before time enough has elapsed to thoroughly test its practical workings.

The same political forces that organized and fought the national campaign of 1896, upon the basis of bimetallic currency are fully awake to the fact that they cannot, within a short four years, and under identical leadership, cast to the winds a cardinal doctrine. True, in a few of the councils in Eastern States a disposition has been evinced to mellow the coin and currency issues, but this has, very likely, been due more to a hope that other issues of an overshadowing nature might arise, than to any serious change of mind respecting them.

Western councils, on the other hand, have come up bravely to the fortified works of their traditional enemies, the gold monometalists, as they are termed. Thus, the Sioux Falls convention pronounced unqualifiedly in favor of opening the mints of the United States to the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. As it placed Mr. Bryan in nomination as its candidiate for President, that declaration of principle is a commitment to a similar and perhaps more emphatic one at Kansas City. And so, as to coin and currency issues, the campaign of 1900 opens on the precise lines of that of 1896. The battle cannot be other than desperate along those lines, for to strive to obliterate them, or to blur them, will prove to be a confession of weakness full of hazard, if not a direct invitation to defeat.

CURRENCY AND BUSINESS.

By HON. LYMAN J. GAGE,
Secretary of Treasury.

THOMAS BENTON left behind him a valuable record of his political experience in his "Thirty Years in the United States Senate." Mr. Blaine did a similar work in his "Twenty Years in Congress." The memoirs of Generals Grant and Sherman give to us the story of varied movements by contesting armies upon many bloody battlefields. But no one to my knowledge has recorded with any fidelity the dramatic movements to which by outward influences the life of the business man has been subjected since the year 1865 or 1870. The business man I know is nowhere regarded as a hero or statesman. He neither makes laws nor conducts military campaigns. He is so common a factor in the operations of ordinary life that he fails to attract the public eye. Nevertheless, within the range of his activities the wisdom of the statesman and the courage of the war leader are often required of him. If he cannot make law he must always be on the alert to watch the laws that are made. If such laws touch upon the field of economics he must anticipate their action and adjust to their operation and anticipated effects. If he cannot direct the movement of armies and win at once victory and fame, he must be quick to know the commercial effect of battles, sieges and long-drawn campaigns. The last thirty years have been to him a period of dangerous vicissitudes and peculiar trials.

In the year 1870 all business affairs were carried on in the

United States with a medium of exchange entirely dislocated from the world's money standard. Prices of all commodities, wares and labor service were stated in terms of an irredeemable currency. All time accounts were payable in the same money. And yet in itself that money was no true measurer of the values which it served to transfer. Every commodity having in any of its parts or as a whole a value in foreign markets was really measured by its price in gold in the world's market. The value of the "greenback" was itself related to gold, and upon the unsettled sea of the public credit the value of our domestic money rose and fell. Goods or manufactures sold one day at an apparent profit on their previous cost could not on the day or the week following be replaced with the amount received in payment.

Have you ever studied the oscillations in value of that instrument of exchange by which, perforce, all our domestic trade and commerce was conducted? Let us glance at the records. On January 1, 1862, the greenback was worth 100 cents in gold. In twelve months it fell 31 per cent. The next seven months it advanced 15 per cent. on its previous price. The next five months afterward it fell 18 per cent. Then in six months more it fell 40 per cent. In the next six months it advanced 20 per cent. Then in six months more it fell 40 per cent. The next six months it advanced 52 per cent. In the next twelve months it fell 6 per cent. The next six months it rose 13 per cent. Then it rose 10 per cent. in three years —that is, for January, 1870, it stood at 82.4. It then in two years rose 11 per cent. In January, 1875, it was rated as worth 89.9. From that year, when the resumption act was passed, the oscillations were less marked, a range of from 5 to 7 per cent. per annum with a general upward movement to January 1, 1879, when once more $1 in greenbacks would command $1 in gold.

While I have noted these fluctuations by convenient periods, it must not be forgotten that each and every day between the periods there were minor but constant fluctuations. With what certainty of direction could the mariner sail his ship if the compass by which he reckoned was subject to such lawless aberrations? At noon each day he could determine by the sun how far he was off his course, but this would always be after the fact. It would not help his calculations for the morrow. No wonder men mistook loss for profit and profit for loss.

Under such conditions trade degenerated into mere speculation. Every fall in the value of the money was at once expressed, or ought to have been expressed, by a rise in the price of commodities. Those who bought most largely on credit and made the fewest sales realized profits in excess of the legitimate and careful trader, who had a conscience about credit, and who believed it was the business of a merchant to distribute his wares. Inventories showed wealth in figures. They encouraged extravagance, but in many cases the wealth in figures became the father of bankruptcy in fact. By the year 1873 the bitter fruits of the artificial condition appeared. The simulacrum of prosperity was dissolved. The system of credits, extended and enlarged by years of rising prices, fell into ruin. Merchants, manufacturers, bankers and transportation lines one after another shared a common fate.

Looking backward it now appears a strange coincidence that in that same year, 1873, a piece of legislation should have been inaugurated which was in after years to save the country from a repetition of the injurious effects of a rapidly depreciating money. In that year the coinage laws were revised, and with no comprehension of the great economic consequences involved in it the unit of value was made to consist of gold, while the silver dollar was dropped from the coinage.

Great efforts have been made to prove that this action was the result of a wicked scheme of the money power. However wicked the money power may be, it does not deserve credit for omniscience, and omniscience alone could have foreseen that the commercial value of the silver dollar, then greater than its yellow brother, gold, would steadily decline to a fraction of its then equivalent. Whether this legislative act was purely fortuitous, or whether it was a providential interposition, as a critical period in our national life, the event was one of far-reaching importance. Had it not occurred as it did, and when it did, there is no room whatever to doubt that after climbing the hill to specie payments in 1879, we should have repeated, through the effect of silver as our standard money, the losses and crosses which marked the depreciation of our paper money from 1864 to 1879. It is very certain that if the coinage act of 1873 had been delayed five years, or even three years, it would never have been adopted.

The proof lies in the frantic efforts of a powerful party to secure a repeal of that act. The effort began in 1878, when silver had already fallen in price. That effort has not been relaxed to this day, though faith in its success is giving way. Nothwithstanding the failure to secure the free coinage at our mints, at the old ratio of 16 to 1, the effort to achieve that result has been, until a recent period, a most disturbing influence upon business affairs. The legislative struggle for free coinage began in 1878. Though unsuccessful, it forced injurious compromises. The Bland act of 1878 required the purchase and coinage by the Government of $2,000,000 in silver per month. The so-called Sherman act of 1890 required the purchase of not less than 4,500,000 ounces per month. The total effect of these doings was to force into the channels of circulation something more than $500,000,000, nominal value, in money, the real value of which in the world's market is now less than one-half of that sum. The great loss involved in the transaction has been assumed by the Government as it ought to have been, since it is right that the risk and burden of a public folly should be distributed over all the people.

During the long period from '78 to '93, when the act was repealed, there was constant fear that our finances would degenerate to what is popularly called the silver basis. This fear intimidated capital, restricted enterprise and gave to all engaged in business activities a sense of doubt and apprehension.

In 1893, when the repeal of the Sherman law hung in the balances, the fear culminated in the most destructive panic in our history. It may not be just to ascribe that business reaction to the silver question alone. Depression and reaction will come as the natural result of overtrading, speculation and injudicious credit. These causes no doubt co-operated to produce the panic of 1893, but they were intensely aggravated by the silver question, so-called.

The year 1896 witnessed in a milder form the commercial experience of 1893, and it is not unjust to charge the perturbation of 1896 to the fear that a revolution in our standard money was at hand.

I have pointed out the disturbing and injurious effect of a depreciated paper money. It will be seen that a depreciated metallic money would have been scarcely less injurious. I will pass by any consideration of the shock and loss of the change from the gold to the silver standard and refer only to the fluctuations in silver as measured by the world's money, gold, during the years 1873 to 1893. In 1873 the silver in a silver dollar would buy in the market one dollar and one and sixtenths cents in gold. In 1878 the silver in a silver dollar would but buy 89.2 cents in gold. In 1883 it would buy 85.8; in 1888, 72.7; in 1893, 60.4, and in 1896 the silver in a silver dollar could buy but 45.6 cents in gold. Between these dates there were continuous oscillations in relative value up and down between silver and gold. The range of fluctuation was much more limited than that experienced with our irredeemable paper, but was violent enough to cause a constant and deeply injurious derangement to trade and industry.

Constantly in peril, our domestic money of account has nevertheless been steadily maintained by the public credit on an even parity with the world standard, gold. The act of Congress, which, by the approval of the President, became the law on March 14, 1900, sets at rest this disturbing question of the standard. Unless the credit of the Government shall utterly fail, the assurance is absolute that for at least six years we are safe from change. The business man may now know that his goods, sold on four months' credit, will be paid for in money equal in value to that represented in the goods sold. The foundation of credit and commerce is at last secure. All our kinds of money are equal in value with one another, and all alike are as good as gold.

In addition to the disconcerting influences already referred to, it is proper to put some emphasis upon the deranging effect of tariff changes. Of these, during the thirty-year period, there have been several of a radical character. I cannot speak of them at length, nor will I undertake to discuss the economic theories by which the more radical changes have been justified in the opinion of the political power which inaugurated them. Whether meritorious in fact and ultimately of general benefit, every such change is the cause of economic disturbance to the commercial and industrial status quo.

They give at least great temporary advantage to the few at the cost and loss of the many.

There were several modifications and revisions in the war tariff between the years 1862 and 1876. These modifications occurred in the years 1864, 1865, 1867, 1870, 1872 and 1875. In 1883 there was a general revision of the tariff laws which carried a considerable reduction in the rates of duty. Seven years after—1890—radical changes were made by which duties were largely increased. Again, in 1894, what was known as the Wilson act worked a large reduction in the average rates of the McKinley tariff. Four years after, the Dingley act of 1898 took the place of the Wilson act, and the rates therein established now continue to be the law.

I cannot stop to more than suggest the several periods during the last thirty years when sudden derangements have occurred from causes outside of those enumerated. In 1871 the Chicago fire destroyed $200,000,000 of existing capital. Through the beneficence of insurance, and by reason of a wide-spreading network of relationship through credit and otherwise, the strain of the loss was widely distributed. Yet it brought financial ruin to thousands. In 1884 the failure of a great bank in New York caused a forced liquidation, which involved serious losses to many. In 1890 the Barings in London suspended payment, with liabilities of $150,000,000. While the shock of this disaster was much softened by the courageous action of the Bank of England and its associates, the depressing effect of the failure on industrial undertakings was felt throughout the civilized world.

In 1894, when our domestic business life was fairly emerging from the dark days which followed 1893, the Venezuela message brought us suddenly face to face with the possibilities of war with our best customer. Politically considered, the message may have been justified; I am not considering that question. I think it, however, safe to affirm that economically looked at it was a severe blow to reviving industry. It developed a new crisis in commercial affairs and seriously impeded the revival of business.

In 1898 we faced the actualities of war with all its possibilities of cost in treasure and loss in precious lives. Again was the man of business affairs and responsibilities compelled to forecast contingencies and consequences, which it required the gift of foreknowledge to properly comprehend.

Since 1870 the population has increased substantially 100 per cent. In the same time our annual expenditures in the cause of public education have increased 227 per cent. The number of newspapers and periodicals, 261 per cent. The number of post offices, 163 per cent. The receipts of the Post Office Department, although postal rates have been lowered, were 380 per cent. greater last year than in 1870. The number of telegrams showed an increase of 739 per cent. The miles of railroad operated in 1870 were 52,822; in 1899 they were 186,810, an increase of 253 per cent. The increase in tons of freight carried one mile shows an increase in twenty years of 192 per cent; we have no data prior to 1880; while the freight rate per ton per mile fell 61 per cent. While in general the vessel tonnage shows no gain, but a serious decline, it is notable that the tonnage by water through the Sault Ste Marie Canal increased 3000 per cent. In agriculture, wheat and corn have not much increased beyond the ratio of increase in population. The diversity of products has greatly increased. In cotton during the thirty years there has been an increase of 300 per cent., while population was increased 100 per cent.

Our growth in manufacturing has some remarkable illustrations. Our own cotton mills in 1870 used 857,000 bales. In 1899 they consumed 3,632,000 bales, an increase of 324 per cent. In 1870 we converted 583,000 pounds of raw silk into finished products. In 1899 we used 11,236,000 pounds, an increase of 1825 per cent. We used in manufactures last year 42,000,000 more pounds of crude rubber than in 1870, a growth of 431 per cent. The production of pig iron shows an increase of 607 per cent. The manufacture of steel grew from less than 69,000 in 1870 to nearly 13,000,000 tons in 1899, an increase of 12,893 per cent. For the same period the production of coal grew from 33,000,000 tons to 196,000,000 tons, an increase of 498 per cent. The production of petroleum increased from 185,000,000 gallons in 1870 to 2,000,325,000 gallons in 1898—a growth of 1100 per cent. The development of our manufacturing interests is best indicated, perhaps, by the increase in our export of manufactures. They increased from a valuation of $68,000,000 in 1870 to $338,000,000 in 1899, or 396 per cent. Taking our foreign commerce as a whole, we have an export value in 1870 of $392,000,000, against $1,227,000,000 in 1899—an increase of 212 per cent., while during the same periods our imports increased but 60 per cent. Taken as a whole, for the four-year period, 1895 to 1899, the value of our exports was $1,534,000,000 in excess of our imports.

Our internal domestic trade has shared in a similar development. The total freight carried one mile in 1898 exceeded the amount carried in 1895 by 26,000,000,000 tons. This increase required the use of 300 trains, each loaded to the extent of 1000 tons, running continuously twenty-four hours each day through the entire year. But I will not burden you with further illustrations of our great development. The facts submitted are startling in their nature, and full of encouragement for the future. They prove the truth of the somewhat hackneyed phrase, "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." These triumphs of peace have been gained, as I have shown, amid many depressing influences. What might they not have been as the result of these years since 1860 could peace have prevailed, could the aberrations and vicissitudes caused by a bad money system have been avoided? We need not, however, repine. We front the future well equipped with all the instruments of productivity. We have no complications with any foreign power, threatening our peace or disturbing our commerce. The tokens of industrial prosperity appear on every hand. The revenues of the Government are more than sufficient for all public requirements. The credit of the commercial community is such as to give a sense of freedom and security to commercial activities. Are we, therefore, safe in the future from the injurious influences which have disturbed the past? It would be gratifying to answer that question in the affirmative, but it cannot be so answered.

The problems of life never cease. Old errors are resurrected, and clothed in new garb, afflict society until again laid to rest. Changing conditions also beget new problems. Prejudice and a lack of knowledge obscure the way. Some of these problems are immediately before us. The labor question, transportation, combinations of capital, are the names of those most prominent. They all bear directly upon our future well-being. They all require wisdom, sincerity and the love of justice for their right solution. How great are the responsibilities of a free state! Endowed with the power of self-direction, the capacity for self-injury is never absent. The only guide to safety is the truth. In the field of production and exchange economic principles must be recognized and obeyed. Majority votes cannot alter them. To carefully study these principles with an earnest desire to know the truth concerning them, and learning the truth, to employ all energy in making it known among all the people are duties resting with solemn force upon the business men of America. They are duties which apathy and indifference will seek to avoid, but which patriotism and courage will gladly assume.

Lyman J. Gage

THE GOLD STANDARD.

BY HON. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS,
U. S. Senator, Indiana.

MONEY is no longer an occult science understood by the few, but its essential principles have become familiar to the many. Great questions engage the attention of Congress—questions which concern our newly acquired possessions and which affect our economic and domestic affairs—but greater than any other question is the one which is now before us.

It would seem that at this stage of our national progress no argument should be required to justify the maintenance of the gold standard. That standard is preferred not because of any sentimental feeling in favor of one metal as against another, but because commerce has decreed in its favor. What government of first rank has any other standard than gold? We will search in vain for a solitary one. This significant fact is not due to mere caprice or prejudice, but is the result of the world-wide operation of recognized laws, unwritten it is true, but possessing the binding force of Congressional enactments. There are certain monetary laws, the fruit of the centuries, which have compelled republics and kingdoms to adopt a monetary standard which possesses in full measure the essential element of fixedness—stability.

Gold, by these laws, has become the preferred metal, the acknowledged standard for the measure of values among the leading commercial nations.

The pending measure continues gold as the monetary unit or standard of value. It does not attempt to establish a new standard with which we are unfamiliar. It makes no new experiment which may lead to surprises and uncertainty, to the embarrassment of commerce and the consequent injury of the interests of labor and capital. It is a reassurance to them that no change is to occur in our monetary system which will place them in immediate or serious peril. Upon this renewed pledge they may go forward, planning, building and expanding for the future. It allays apprehension; it dispels fear. It becomes the secure foundation of an expanding commerce—of a larger commercial growth.

No sophistries or subleties can make money or create a currency which is good for one and which is not equally good for the other. The interests of labor and capital are always identical. They can never be divorced. They are so interlaced and interdependent that money which injuriously affects one cannot beneficially affect the other. They must share and share alike. They are either benefited or injured in common by any policy or scheme of monetary legislation. This is a truism. It is a conclusion so obvious that it is almost an offense to intelligence to restate it. But there are those who insist that gold is a class money, and discriminates in its beneficial operation among the people, favoring some and injuring others. Such a statement, it is needless to say, is but mere assumption, founded upon no actual experience nor upon reason which should detain the attention for a moment.

Gold has been the monetary standard of the country since 1873. In fact it has really been the metal standard of value since 1834.

The issue between the two parties is sharply defined. The one adheres to the gold standard and the consequent use of a large but limited volume of silver and paper currency, its full equivalent in effecting the exchanges of the people, while the other is for the maintenance of the single silver standard, with gold expelled from the channels of trade. It is true this is not its professed policy, yet it would be the inevitable result if its policy were adopted.

The maintenance of the gold standard with silver circulating as currency at a parity with gold is the only bimetallism possible with so vast a difference existing between the value of the two metals in the markets. The divergence in their market value makes it impossible to maintain more than a limited amount of silver at a parity with gold at an arbitrary minting ratio.

The fact has been known and recognized by financiers for centuries that the cheaper metal will expel from circulation the dearer. This is the Gresham law, which is secure against amendment or repeal. Debased silver will drive gold from circulation, and debased legal-tender paper will usurp the currency functions of both gold and silver.

But it is said that opening the mints of the United States to the free coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1 will result in enlarging the demand for silver, and in enhancing its market value to an equivalency with its minting value, so that we will have no debased silver. In other words, that silver under unrestricted coinage will rise from a commercial ratio of 34.19 to 1 to 16 to 1. If this were true it would go far toward solving the problem which vexes us. It is well to inquire whether this claim has any basis. Is it founded upon experience? Is there warrant for it in the monetary history of the world? If so, where? In what country to-day where there is free coinage of both silver and gold at the proposed ratio, or at any ratio, has silver been raised to an equivalency with gold? Unless the history of coinage in our own country and in many other countries is false, the claims of the advocates of free-silver coinage rest upon unsupported assumption.

If free coinage was unable to bring gold and silver to a parity with each other from 1792 to 1834, when the difference between them was about 1 1-4 per cent., and further, if it was impossible to bring the metals to a parity with each other under the new ratio from 1834 to 1873, with a maximum difference between them of 3 per cent., how can it be supposed that free coinage to-day would bring them to an equivalency and keep them there, when there is a difference between them of 53 cents on the dollar? Sir, our friends set before us an impossible task.

The free coinage of silver as now proposed, with all the mints of Europe closed to free coinage, would not result in raising the great mass of silver in the United States and throughout the world up to and retaining it at a parity with gold. The effort to acomplish this feat would have one chief result, and that would be to drive out of circulation every dollar of gold money in the United States.

The maintenance of the gold standard is not inconsistent with the use of silver as currency. In fact it insures its very large use and upon terms of practical equality with gold itself. While it is not a money of ultimate redemption, it is accepted as equivalent to such in effecting the manifold exchanges among the people.

So long as silver currency is maintained at a parity with gold the people will accept it in payment of their gold obligations without doubt or question, and in every respect as freely and willingly as they will accept gold itself.

Involved in the proposition for free silver coinage at a minting ratio which so grossly disregards the market ratio is the granting of profits to the owners of silver bullion which surpass in their favoritism the monopolies granted during the palmiest days of Elizabeth. They exceed any privileges which Congress has ever seen fit to confer through subsidizing acts. The gift is attended with no element of risk or hazard. It is direct and immediate. There remains no period of uncertainty and doubt, the owners and producers of silver being permitted to enter into the immediate realization of privileges and profits which are denied others.

Under free silver coinage the owner of silver bullion is enabled to take his commodity to the mints of the United States and to have it impressed with the potential stamp of the Government, and at its expense, and then pass it at its minting value in the payment of its obligations. Silver bullion, which is worth but 46.7 cents on the dollar in the markets of the world, where competition is free and open to the great silver producers, must be impresesd, upon their demand, and without cost to them, with the stamp of the Government, whereby it is increased in value about 53 cents and the people are obliged to accept it at the enhanced value. Thus it is clear that under free coinage as proposed there would be a net profit to the silver-bullion owners of about $53,000,000 in every $100,000,000 of silver coin.

What claim have the owners of silver bullion to such distinct and positive favoritism of the Government? If there be class distinction in legislation about which we have heard so much, it lurks in every word and line of a free-coinage law. If there be governmental favoritism, it is found in its most offensive form in a free-silver measure which so utterly and grossly disregards the market value of the two metals.

The opposition favor the free and unlimited coinage of silver, to use a hackneyed phrase, "without the aid or consent of any other nation on earth." This is intended to be a brave utterance, stimulating to the national spirit and to our national pride, but it is a sharp impeachment of our intelligence.

The opposition are bimetallists in theory only. The very policy which they advocate defeats their professed object, and they are, in fact, silver monometallists. We require the use of both gold and silver as a part of our circulating medium, and we have carefully provided for their retention. Under the pending bill, silver and silver certificates become the pocket money of the people. All currency in denominations below ten dollars is withdrawn, and silver certificates in denominations of one, two, and five dollars will take their place. This will obviously secure a wide distribution of the silver certificates and silver coin. Thus distributed, their parity with gold will doubtless be maintained without the necessity of making them a charge upon the gold reserve.

There is a very broad distinction between the unlimited issue of silver as a currency and its limited use; a distinction which the advocates of unlimited coinage in their extraordinary zeal seem to fail to perceive. The result, sir, which would flow from the two policies of limited and unlimited coinage would be quite divergent.

The adoption of the silver standard would result in a severe contraction of the currency. It would expel the stock of gold in this country, which is about $1,025,825,162; and the silver and paper would fall from the gold standard down to the silver basis—which would be the value of silver bullion for the time being. The shrinkage in the money value of the total silver and paper currency amounting to about $1,250,647,748 would be on the basis of the present value of silver bullion, about $670,134,583. Free silver coinage, while proposed in the interest of the expansion of our currency, would result in its very great and serious contraction.

We have witnessed the usual Democratic and Populistic assault upon the national banks. It is true that they sharply oppose national bank currency, which has been emitted for nearly forty years, and which is absolutely good throughout every State and Territory, and is equivalent to gold in many foreign countries. But they deliberately propose to give State banks the power to issue currency, and therby enable them to control the volume of the circulating medium of the country. They are against a national currency, a single currency, but are earnestly and enthusiastically in favor of as many currencies as each of the forty-five States of the Union may see fit to authorize.

It has been a familiar assertion and assumption of the advocates of free silver that there exists a gold-hoarding class; that the holders of the bonds of the Government, who are assailed as if they were enemies of society, exact gold in their payment, and that the advocates of the gold standard seek to promote their selfish interests.

Like many other propositions which have been advanced, this is without the slightest foundation in fact. The truth is, that the holders of bonds rarely exact gold; that they are usually paid by checks and drafts and not in any specific money, either paper, silver, or gold, and that whenever currency is paid it is paid, as a rule, indiscriminately. In the current practice, checks are drawn to the holders of the bonds and are by them deposited in bank, as other deposits are made, subject to check or draft. The desire for gold in the payment of Government as well as other obligations will arise chiefly only when there is doubt as to the purpose or ability of the Government to pay in that metal. The more absolute and certain the establishment and maintenance of the gold standard, the less will be the desire of the people for the payment of obligations in that coin.

There has been much fervid denunciation of the gold standard by the opposition, as though it were inimical to the public welfare. The truth is that the greatest achievements, which are the rich fruits of peace, have been witnessed during the existence of the single gold standard.

There have been temporary periods of reaction, but the general trend of development has been upward. The most serious reactions have occurred when the permanency of our standard has been imperiled through the operation of unwise laws. The most acute disorders have been experienced, affecting both labor and capital, when our currency seemed to be most involved.

The story of the growth and development of the country from 1870, three years prior to the adoption of the gold standard, and 1899, both years included, is without a parallel, perhaps, in this or any other country.

Shall this splendid history be reversed? Can we write a new chapter more brilliantly than the past by the introduction of a currency standard which has been discarded by every enlightened nation on the face of the earth? Those, sir, who denounce the gold standard and assail its supporters must have read to no profit the splendid and incomparable history of their country.

Charles W. Fairbanks

THE FINANCIAL BILL OF 1900.

By HENRY M. TELLER,
U. S. Senator, Colorado.

BY section 1 of the bill it is made the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain the parity between all forms of money issued or coined by the United States and it leaves to the discretion of the Secretary to determine what is necessary to accomplish that purpose. It is to be maintained at a parity of value with this standard; that is, with the gold standard.

That puts into the hands of the Secretary a power which I think is very dangerous to give to any one man. It is not simply a power to exchange a silver dollar for a gold dollar or a gold dollar for a silver dollar or paper for gold. It is to maintain the parity in any way in which in his judgment it shall be necessary to maintain it. If he thinks it is necessary to issue bonds, he can issue them. If it is necessary to buy gold, he can buy gold. The power is lodged with him, under this provision, to employ any method that he sees fit to maintain the parity. I only need to say that such a power ought never to be given to the Executive.

The second section, providing that the United States notes and treasury notes shall be redeemed in gold is practically the Senate provision, but this makes every dollar of paper money, every dollar of silver money, that is in circulation a drain upon the gold reserve, which is fixed at $150,000,000, as we know. Heretofore $100,000,000 of gold reserve for the redemption of any and all government money to be redeemed has been ample to meet all the demands made for redemption. But now this amount is raised to $150,000,000. I do not understand why this change is made. There has been no trouble with the reserve of one hundred million. At no time has it been below $52,000,000, as I recollect. Now, however, this reserve is never to be allowed to fall below $150,000,000, because as soon as it is depleted it is to be replenished. The result will be that there will be at all times $150,000,000 of our circulation held in this reserve that will not do money duty in the sense that we understand circulation does money duty. If a million dollars is redeemed, a million dollars must be put back into the reserve fund at once.

Now comes the question of the issue of bonds, which is, after all, the most vicious feature of this part of the bill. Having established the gold standard, it was thought necessary that the Treasury should have power to borrow money at all times without limitation in order to maintain it. I do not believe the gold standard is of sufficient value to justify the extension of the public debt; but I do not believe it can be maintained without it. Every nation that has attempted to maintain the gold standard has had to resort to extra measures and efforts to maintain it. Great Britain, as we know, ruined the best part of her population in the effort.

Under this bill I predict that we shall continue the national debt, increasing it gradually year by year, and that no man now living will see it paid. I do not suppose the people who favor this bill ever want to see the national debt paid. It was the policy of the Republican party for many years to pay it. But there has been no effort made in the last twelve years by any political organization to discharge the public debt. There will be no more such effort, in my opinion, under a Republican administration. If the Republican party is again successful in 1900, you will see the public debt increased, and not decreased, and this bill is ex industria for that particular purpose. There is no limit to the possible extension of the debt, and it is intended there shall be no limit to it.

There is a provision in this bill that I should like to have explained. These notes which are redeemed and come into the Treasury, they say, may be used, first, in exchange for gold; second, for the purchase of bonds; third, for any other lawful purpose; but they shall not be used to meet a deficiency in the current revenue.

That is a very remarkable and curious statement. If there is a deficiency in the revenue and you have these notes that have been redeemed in exchange for gold in the general fund, which the law authorizes to use for certain purposes, why not use them to pay the current expenses? In my judgment that is another unwise discretion given to the Secretary of the Treasury by which he may increase the public debt in time of peace with money in the Treasury, just as was done under the late administration of Mr. Cleveland.

But I want those interested to know a little more about this measure. Let me go back to the bill:

The Secretary of the Treasury may, in his discretion, use said notes in exchange for gold, or to purchase or redeem any bonds of the United States, or for any other lawful purpose the public interests may require.

Now, he is not obliged to do that. It is any "lawful purpose the public interests may require." The whole matter is discretionary with the Secretary from the very wording. It would be so if the bill did not say it is discretionary. The Secretary determines whether it is a lawful purpose, and he would have to determine when he could buy bonds.

In my judgment that is another provision, first, for locking up the notes, and second, if there is a deficiency in the revenue, for issuing bonds. When there is a deficiency, the people who have paper money will go to the Treasury for their gold and deplete the Treasury; and the very moment the Treasury is depleted of a million dollars or $10,000,000, the authority is given to the Secretary to issue bonds, and there is no restriction upon the amount of bonds that he may issue. Ex industria they have left this thing to him not to issue bonds equal to the amount of the deficiency in the reserve, but to issue whatever, in his judgment, may be necessary to maintain that reserve. Who is to question his discretion and his judgment?

We are now entering upon a new banking system. There was no propriety and no reason in the world why this re-exchange of bonds should be provided for at this time and in this bill. These bonds will not be due for some seven or eight years. Nobody has wanted his money for them. There is not a man living who does not know that when the bonds are due it will be the greatest affliction that could possibly happen to their holders to have them paid in cash. So if it should occur that the bonds become due at a time when we are not prepared to pay them, there would be no trouble in exchanging them for other bonds. If we want to do so, we can pay existing bonds off with new bonds when they are due or sell new bonds and pay the old ones.

I repeat what I said before, that the holders of these bonds are already expecting to get new bonds for the old ones and their cash premiums of $88,000,000, and then sell the new bonds, if they want to get cash for them, at a premium of 6 per cent. Prophecies go for almost nothing in these days, but I venture to say the bonds will be at a higher premium than 6 per cent. all the time. Why should the bonds bring a premium of 6 per cent.? They are bonds upon which the holder can go to the Treasury and get the full amount in cash, and he will get his hundred cents on the dollar. He draws his 2 per cent. upon them. He pays but a small tax upon the bills and he pays no tax upon the bonds. The national banks under the former system paid one-half of 1 per cent half yearly upon their circulation, or 1 per cent. per annum, one-fourth of 1 per cent. half yearly, upon their deposits, a like amount on their capital stock, deducting amount invested in the United States bonds.

If I understand this bill, each national bank will pay one-fourth of 1 per cent. each half year upon the average amount of such notes in circulation as are based upon the deposit of the 2 per cent. bonds. Does the bank pay anything upon its capital?

There is another provision in the bill to which I desire to call attention. As the present statute is and has been for many years, it was found necessary in dealing with the banks that when a bank decreased its circulation and brought its notes to the Treasury and took out bonds or left them, as it might, it could not increase its circulation again for six months. That was for the purpose of preventing the banks of this country from putting their notes into the Treasury, contracting the currency, and then, perhaps in a month from that time, reissuing an equal amount, and thus keeping the currency in fluctuation. That law is repealed, and the banks hereafter will be allowed to simply turn in just so much money as they choose to do; and when they wish to create a fall in prices or when they wish to coerce the Senate and the House of Representatives, as they have done, they will simply go to the Treasury with their notes, leave them there, and when the condition which they want to create has been created, they will withdraw their notes again, and thus we shall have contraction and expansion, and that, I suppose, is upon the theory that we are to have an elastic currency.

In doing this you are giving to the banks advantages that you could not have given them ten years ago. They are not suffering when they take these bonds, but they are getting the best bonds in the world, without exception. They do not have to take the bonds at 2 per cent. If they do not want to take them, you can not make them do so. If they take them, it will be because they think it is better than to take the cash from us when the bonds are due; and it is better for the banks to take them. They realize that. The public realizes that you are giving to these people not only a bonus of $88,000,000, but you are giving them a bonus that is to continue.

It would be infinitely safer for you to say that anybody might mint money, and you might confine it to gold, to silver, or to both; but this is a privilege that is greater than the minting of metallic money. In ancient times individuals did mint money, as did banks. I mean out of metal, gold and silver. You are here creating a mint for every bank, and that money is to take the place of the Government money. If the banks do what the Senators here who are advocating this bill say they will do, if they accept eight hundred or nine hundred millions of bonds and issue eight hundred or nine hundred millions of currency on them, one of two things will happen: You must retire your silver certificates, your silver dollars, and your greenbacks, or your superabundance of paper money will drive your gold out of the country, for you will have an excess of paper circulation.

Senators talk about being for sound money. There is nothing sound in this project of favoring the banks. There is not an idea in it that is founded upon a sound financial proposition. Under this bill they can, with their issue of bank notes, control the financial condition of the country. When they want low prices, they can, as they recently did, make their loans to secure low prices; and when their interests demand rising prices, their loans will be made to that end.

I do not wonder that the banks want this power. What I am complaining of is a system that will allow them, in the first place, to call upon the Government; and then, I am complaining of the fact that the Government goes to their relief. I do not say that under the conditions existing the Government can not legally do so; but what right has the Government to sustain a bank any more than to sustain me? I can take my bonds, if I am fortunate enough to possess any, and go to the Treasury and say, "I want money;" but they will tell me to go to a broker and sell my bonds; that I can not get money there; that I am not a bank, and have not a charter. The manufacturer does not get any benefit from this system except as he gets it through the bank; and he pays the bank for the use of money which really belongs to the people of the United States, upon which the bank pays no interest.

I want to go back, because we are dealing with these banks, to show that my suspicion of these banks is well founded. They have never come to the support of the Government. When we were in the throes of revolution, when the Government was in need of money, they said to the Government, "We will loan you money for 12 per cent. in the city of New York." They never offered it at any less, either.

The effort of the last twenty-odd years to put the world upon the gold standard has caused more suffering, more distress, more disaster than all the wars of the century now closing. Its baneful influence will continue to be felt, unless the action here is reversed, until the recollection of these great wars shall fade from human memory.

I do not contend that the country will be destroyed, but it will be hurt. I believe even under this system the country will grow rich and strong; great fortunes will still be created; palaces will be built for the rich; the rich will grow richer; but, alas, I believe under this system, when it shall have its whole effect, when we shall feel its legitimate operation, the poor will grow poorer. The wealth created will be in the hands of a few. The producer will not get his part.

It is not because the people of Colorado are to suffer evils that the rest of the country will not suffer that I protest against this legislation. It is because I believe, and I think time will so demonstrate, that this is the greatest calamity that has been inflicted upon the American people, greater by far than the great war that took so much of our wealth and so much of our precious blood. If the great output of gold continues for a few years the evil day will be deferred, but when that shall cease, as it will cease—because in the history of the world it always has ceased—after a time, and when the people shall have arranged their business upon the basis of gold alone and gold shall cease to be produced in the quantities that it has been produced heretofore, there will be discovered in the business of the world a sliding scale toward lower prices; and then the height of this disaster will be upon the people.

H M Teller

GOVERNMENT OBLIGATIONS.

By HON. EDWARD L. HAMILTON
Member of Congress, Michigan.

THE American people are sensitive to any imputation of public or private dishonor and they are pronounced against legalizing the payment of honest obligations in depreciated dollars and thereby violating the pledge of the nation to maintain the parity between gold and silver.

They pronounced against the clipping of coin by legislative enactment.

They pronounced in favor of a silver dollar worth a gold dollar.

In favor of a silver dollar that will not shrink when exposed to salt water while crossing the ocean.

In favor of a dollar worth a dollar the whole world around, and not a dollar fluctuating from day to day in the markets of the world.

In favor of gold and silver, and paper at parity with them —plenty of gold, plenty of silver, and plenty of business to keep them both in use and circulation.

They pronounced in favor of a dollar true to name and true to the value stamped upon it.

What is the object of coining money? Simply to certify to the world the weight and fineness of the piece.

Coinage was first resorted to by individuals for business convenience, and then monopolized by governments.

It has been said that if money were not coined every business man would have to carry a pair of scales and be a chemist.

The commercial world does carry scales and does understand chemistry, and the gentlemen on the other side carry scales, but they carry them over their eyes.

Every coin "rung on the counters of the world" must pass either upon its own intrinsic worth or upon the credit of the nation which stamps it, and when the commercial world distrusts a nation's power to keep its money, whether paper or metallic, up to the value stamped upon its face, then such money must pass upon its own merit, sink to its actual value, or seesaw up and down from day to day, subject to the caprice of public confidence.

This nation has kept its silver dollars at parity with gold, (1) because behind every silver dollar has stood the nation's pledge to keep and maintain silver and gold at parity; (2) because by coinage on government account it has wisely limited the output of silver dollars within its powers of redemption; and (3) because it receives them in payment of tariff and taxes.

The quantitative theory of money, elementary and old as political economy, was paraded in the last campaign like a new discovery. It was truthfully urged that more money makes higher prices; but the twin truth that it is only money in circulation that affects prices was not dwelt upon.

In the language of John Stuart Mill, "Whatever may be the quantity of money in the country, only that part of it will affect prices which goes into the market of commodities and is there actually exchanged against goods."

Money driven to cover by panic and hidden away in fear builds up no enterprise and furnishes no employment.

Confidence makes business, and business makes prosperity.

With confidence fled and business dead, it was said that what the country needed was more money, as if by some sort of legislative legerdemain our population could be enriched without effort.

The way to have "more money," it was said, was to dig down the mountains and coin them into silver dollars at the arbitrary ratio of 16 to 1.

But why coin at 16 to 1? Why not coin at 8 to 1, or 1 to 1, or why not stamp paper, "cheap in material, worked by steam, and signed by machinery?"

If the touch of the Government stamp creates value, why waste silver?

Why not coin pig-iron dollars, as they did in the days of old Lycurgus?

It is said that a free, open mint would create an unlimited demand and pull the price of silver up to parity with gold; that an increased output of silver would increase its value, and somewhere in dim perspective silver and gold would meet at the ratio of 16 to 1.

What is a free, open mint? Simply a place run by the Government where bullion would go in the hopper and come out coin, and the coin would not belong to you nor to me nor to the Government, but would belong to the man who brought the bullion to the mint, and we could not get a dollar of it except for value receieved.

If a free open mint would create an unlimited demand and pull the price of silver up to parity with gold, then a free open thrashing machine would raise the price of wheat and a free open sawmill would raise the price of basswood up to that of rosewood or mahogany.

It is laid down as an axiom that more money makes higher prices, and it is true. But the money must be in use and circulation, and the quality of the price depends upon the quality of the money in which it is measured and the character of the people among whom it circulates.

More than $450,000,000 of paper money was issued by the colonies and the Continental Congress, which shrunk to nothing in the hands of the last possessor.

Confederate money grew more worthless as time brought Appomattox in sight.

The greenback fluctuated to as low as 38 cents on the dollar, and was restored to parity with gold by the power of this Government to redeem it.

Measured in greenbacks, Confederate or continental money, prices were high, but the seller was not enriched thereby. He became poorer the longer he held the price. That is the price which depreciation exacts.

The ratio of 16 to 1 has been talked of as if fixed by Omnipotent edict; as if at the dawn of creation silver and gold were yoked in the ratio of 16 to 1 in the moon's eclipse with weird incantation, while the "lakes of bitumen rose boilingly higher and the slumbering earthquake lay pillowed on fire;" and since that time no other ratio is genuine! No other ratio is blown in the metal; every other ratio is a hoodoo!

When men followed the overland trail, and railroads climbed the western grade and tunneled out toward the Pacific, and the sound of the miner's pick rang among the solitudes of the mountains, no power prescribed that silver and gold should be found at the ratio of 16 to 1.

And when silver and gold were found no power prescribed that they should be used at the ratio of 16 to 1.

And when silver and gold are used, no mere paper statute of any single nation, which may happen to decorate or mar the map of the world for a few hundred years, can compel the two metals to go yoked in an arbitrary mint ratio which is not the commercial ratio.

Silver and gold have been the money of all time, but the ratio of their usage and coinage has changed with the changing years.

Congress is powerful, but it is not in the power of Congress to make a half equal to the whole.

It can not change the multiplication table.

It can not fix the value of commodities.

It can not fix by law the relative value of silver and gold.

It is no more in the power of Congress to make this nation richer by calling 50 cents a dollar than it is in the power of Congress to make this nation bigger by calling half a mile a mile.

It is no more in the power of Congress to make the farmer richer by calling 50 cents a dollar than it is in the power of Congress to make the farmer's farm bigger by calling half an acre an acre.

If gold or silver is worth more uncoined than coined, it will not be coined, or, if already coined, it will not circulate.

Our own history has demonstrated this.

Congress has the constitutional power to "coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin."

Pursuant to this power the coinage act of 1792 was passed.

The coinage ratio was then fixed by Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, and agreed to by Jefferson, then Secretary of State, not in reliance upon any supposed power in Congress to keep and maintain the two metals in circulation by law, but by looking abroad and ascertaining the existing commercial ratio and seeking to make the mint ratio conform therto.

And there were "struck and coined" at the mint coins of silver and gold at the ratio of 15 to 1. But a mistake had been made. The legal ratio did not conform to the commercial ratio.

Silver was overvalued at the mint, and so came to the mint, but gold remained away.

Nor did our silver dollars remain long in circulation, but went to Mexico and the West Indies in exchange for Spanish dollars, which were about three grains heavier than our own.

Their dollars were brought to our mint and recoined for re-exchange, and this endless chain of coinage and exchange went on without commercial benefit to us till 1806, when the further coinage of the silver dollar was stopped by order of Thomas Jefferson, then President.

By the acts of 1834 and 1837 Congress provided for the coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1, but again the legal ratio did not conform to the commercial ratio. This time gold was overvalued at the mint and so went to the mint to be coined, while silver went abroad, because 16 ounces of silver were worth more than an ounce of gold.

Incident to silver monometallism is partial repudiation, by which

1. The laborer would be paid for a full day's work in clipped dollars--in dollars big in his pocket, but small at the grocery.

2. The pensioner who fought for the stability of our Government would be paid in unstable money.

3. Life-insurance policies would be cashed to widows and orphans in dollars worth less than the face of the policy.

4. Savings deposits and loan investments slowly paid to maturity would be repaid in clipped dollars, worth less than the dollars invested.

5. Guardians, executors, and administrators would file their final accounts and be discharged on payment of less than the trust estate.

Incident to silver monometallism, too, is the question whether this nation, which stands now in the forefront of the progressive civilization of the world, shall begin to pattern its finances after those of Mexico; whether we shall slump to a semi-civilized money standard or still maintain our proud place among the nations of the world, with coin the image and superscription of which tell no lie, and with flag not lowered to commercial half-mast.

What is the public wealth of America? It is not what the Government owns, because the Government owns but little beyond a few forts and arsenals, some public buildings and lands, and the graves of its soldiers.

The public wealth of America is made up of the fortunes of its citizens.

It increases as population increases; it fluctuates as people plant and build and traffic more or less, as new industries and new inventions give new value to lands, mines, and forests, as the seasons bring harvests or famines, as mutual confidence and common prosperity extend credit from man to man, as money goes freely from hand to hand or hides for fear of disaster.

When threats and fears of spoliation have caused money to go into hiding instead of investment, and public confidence is shaken, then public wealth is reduced beyond calculation.

Nations may coin money of silver or gold, but the best mint is the mint of public confidence; and confidence is founded on order, and order is not built upon an earthquake.

L Hamilton

USES AND ABUSES OF TRUSTS.

ONE of the most lively and vital of pending issues is that of trusts. As the word "Trust" is bandied in debate, or popularly used in newspapers, party platforms and on the stump, it implies some horrid, monopolistic aggregation of capital in derogation of legitimate competition and in restraint of legal trade, and by no means embraces those useful and accredited organizations existing everywhere, and formed under law to make and protect long investments, settle estates, care for legacies and confirm titles to realty. That the former kind of trusts are at once an incubus, a threat and an outrage, intolerable in existence and gigantic in proportions, is taken for granted by many. Yet there are not a few who see in them only a natural co-ordination of capital and ambitions such as is demanded and excused by great enterprises and fresh forms of development. However regarded, it is certain that the question of trusts of the bad or monopolistic kind is one of the most subtle with which statesmen and the general public have to deal. They are bold, defiant, powerful, when on the aggressive; shrewd, evasive and persistent when on the defensive. All the agitation and legislation respecting them have only shifted their form. Their spirit remains the same. Driven from one place they turn up in another. Attacked in one guise, they assume a more carefully woven cloak. Thus far they have been the despair of denunciation and legislation, both state and national. However inveighed against in party platforms, they seem to hypnotize all enemies. It is evident we have not yet reached a means for their eradication. They remain a burning question, and as such are likely to continue until met with a might of sentiment, a majesty of law and a grip of justice equal to their own persistency.

Time was, that like divorce, it was thought they should be relegated to the States for regulation, punishment or extinction. But the States legislated discordantly, and the trust which was tabooed in one merely skipped to another. In some States the trust proved to be bigger than the State. When the Congress passed the interstate commerce act it seemed likely that trusts, or at least their monopolistic tendency, could be reached. This thought was encouraged by a decision of the Supreme Court that the pooling arrangement on the part of railways was in restraint of legitimate trade and therefore unlawful. But the gathering of capital into immense and harmful aggregations went on. The method merely was changed from the old form of agreement to one by means of which actual ownership of the property to be combined was brought about. Law might nullify a secret and dangerous agreement, but it could not interefre with a right in property actually purchased. So, railways began to combine by purchasing interests, in whole or part, in one another's stocks and bonds. So, other organizations became trusts in spirit, if not in name, by resorting to the same subterfuges.

It is wonderful how unanimous all parties are in their denunciation of trusts in their platforms, national and state. It is still more wonderful how shy they are of trust problems when legislation respecting them is sought.

TRUSTS AND MONOPOLIES.

By WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, of Nebraska.

THE trust principle is not a new principle, but the trust principle is manifesting itself in so many ways and the trusts have grown so rapidly that people now feel alarmed about trusts who did not feel alarmed three years ago. The trust question has grown in importance because within two years more trusts have been organized, when we come to consider the capitalization and the magnitude of the interests involved, than were organized in all the previous history of the country, and the people now come face to face with this question: Is the trust a blessing or a curse? If a curse, what remedy can be applied to the curse?

I want to start with the declaration that a monopoly in private hands is indefensible from any standpoint, and intolerable. I make no exceptions to the rule. I do not divide monopolies in private into good monopolies and bad monopolies. There is no good monopoly in private hands. There can be no good monopoly in private hands until the Almighty sends us angels to preside over the monopoly. There may be a despot who is better than another despot, but there is no good despotism. One trust may be less harmful than another. One trust magnate may be more benevolent than another, but there is no good monopoly in private hands, and I do not believe it is safe for society to permit any man or group of men to monopolize any article of merchandise or any branch of industry.

What is the defense made of the monopoly? The defense of the monopoly is always placed on the ground that if you allow a few people to control the market and fix the price they will be good to the people who purchase of them. The entire defense of the trusts rests upon a money argument. If the trust will sell to a man an article for a dollar less than the article will cost under other conditions, then in the opinion of some that proves a trust to be a good thing. In the first place I deny that under a monopoly the price will be reduced. In the second place, if under a monopoly the price is reduced, the objections to a monopoly from other standpoints far outweigh any financial advantage that the trust may bring. But I protest in the beginning against settling every question upon the dollar argument. I protest against the attempt to drag every question down to the low level of dollars and cents.

In 1859 Abraham Lincoln wrote a letter to the Republicans of Boston who were celebrating Jefferson's birthday, and in the course of the letter he said: "The Republican party believes in the man and the dollar, but in case of conflict it believes in the man before the dollar." In the early years of his administration he sent a message to Congress, and in that message he warned his countrymen against the approach of monarchy. And what was it that alarmed him? He said it was the attempt to put capital upon an equal footing with, if not above, labor in the structure of government, and in that attempt to put capital even upon an equal footing with labor in the structure of government he saw the approach of monarchy. Lincoln was right. Whenever you put capital upon an equal footing with labor or above labor in the structure of government you are on the road toward a government that rests not upon reason, but upon force.

Nothing is more important than that we shall in the beginning rightly understand the relation between money and man. Man is the creature of God and money is the creature of man. Money is made to be the servant of man and I protest against all theories that enthrone money and debase mankind.

What is the purpose of the trust or the monopoly? For when I use the word trust I use it in the sense that the trust means monopoly. What is the purpose of monopoly? You can find out from the speeches made by those who are connected with trusts. I have here a speech made by Charles R. Flint at Boston on the 25th day of last May, and the morning papers of the 26th in describing the meeting said he defended trust principles before an exceedingly sympathetic audience, and then added: "For his audience was composed almost exclusively of Boston bankers." "We thus secure," he says, "the advantages of larger aggregations of capital and ability; if I am asked what they are, the answer is only difficult because the list is so long."

But I want now to quote to you a few of the advantages to be derived by the trusts from the trust system. "Raw material bought in large quantities is secured at lower prices." That is the first advantage. One man to buy wool for all the woolen manufacturers. That means that every man who sells wool must sell it at the price fixed by this one purchaser in the United States. The first thing is to lower the price of raw material. The great majority of the people are engaged in the production of raw material and in the purchase of finished products. Comparatively few can stand at the head of syndicates and monopolies and secure the profits from them. Therefore, the first adantage of a monopoly is to lower the price of the raw material furnished by the people. Note the next advantage: "Those plants which are best equipped and most advantageously situated are run continuously and in preference to those less favored."

The next thing, after they have bought all the factories, is to close some of them and to turn out of employment the men who are engaged in them. If you will go about over the country, you will see where people have subscribed money to establish enterprises, and where these enterprises, having come under the control of the trusts, have been closed and stand now as silent monuments of the trust system.

Behold the next advantage: "In case of local strikes and fires, the work goes on elsewhere, thus preventing serious loss." Do not the laboring men understand what that means? "In case of local strikes or fires, the work goes on elsewhere, thus preventing serious loss." What does it mean? It means that if the people employed in one factory are not satisfied with the terms fixed by the employer, and strike, the trust can close that factory and let the employes starve while work goes on in other factories, without loss to the manufacturers.

It means that when the trust has frozen out the striking employes in one factory and compelled them to return to work at any price to secure bread for their wives and children, it can provoke a strike somewhere else and freeze the workmen out there. When a branch of industry is entirely in the hands of one great monopoly, so that every skilled man in that industry has to go to the one man for employment, then that one man will fix wages as he pleases, and the laboring men will share the suffering of the man who sells the raw materials.

"There is no multiplication of the means of distribution, and a better force of salesmen takes the place of a large number." That is the next advantage named. I want to warn you that when the monopoly has absolute control, brains will be at a discount, and relatives will be found to fill these positions. When there is competition, every employer has to get a good man to meet competition, but when there is no competition, anybody can sit in the office and receive letters and answer them, because everybody has to write to the same house for anything he wants. There is no question about it. A trust, a monopoly, can lessen the cost of distribution. But when it does so society has no assurance that it will get anything of the benefits from that reduction of cost. But you will take away the necessity for skill and brains. You will take away the stimulus that has given to us the quick, the ever alert commercial traveler. These commercial evangelists, who go from one part of the country to the other, proclaiming the merits of their respective goods, will not be needed, because when anybody wants merchandise all he has to do is to write to the one man who has the article for sale, and say, "What will you let me have it for to-day?"

And here is another advantage: "Terms and conditions of sale become more uniform and credit can be more safely granted." The trust cannot only fix the price of what it sells, but it can fix the terms upon which it sells. You can pay cash, or, if there is a discount, it is just so much discount, and you have to trust to the manager's generosity as to what is fair when he is on one side and you on the other.

What is the first thing to be expected of a trust? That it will cut down expenses. What is the second? That it will raise prices. We have not had in this country a taste of a complete trust, a complete monopoly, and we cannot tell what will be the results of a complete monopoly by looking at the results that have followed from an attempt to secure a monopoly. A corporation may lower prices to rid itself of competitors; but when it has rid itself of competitors, what is going to be the result? My friends, all you have to know is human nature. God made men selfish. I do not mean to say that he made a mistake when he did, because selfishness is merely the outgrowth of an instinct of self-preservation. It is the abnormal development of a man's desire to protect himself; but everybody who knows human nature knows how easy it is to develop that side of a man's being. Occasionally I find a man who says he is not selfish, but when I do, I find a man who can prove it only by his own affidavit.

I believe in self-government. I believe in the doctrines that underlie this government. I believe that people are capable of governing themselves. Why? Because in their sober moments they have helped to put rings in their own noses, to protect others from themselves, and themselves from others in hours of temptation. And so I believe we must recognize human nature. We must recognize selfishness, and we must so make our laws that people shall not be permitted to trespass upon the rights of others in their efforts to secure advantages for themselves.

I believe society is interested in the independence of every citizen. I wish we might have a condition where every adult who died might die leaving to his widow and children enough property for the education of his children and the support of his widow. Society is interested in this because if a man dies and leaves no provision for his wife and children, the burden falls upon society. But while I wish to see every person secure for himself a competency, I don't want him to destroy more than he is worth while he is doing that. And I believe the principle of monopoly finds its inspiration in the desire of men to secure by monopoly what they cannot secure in the open field of competition. In other words, if I were going to try to find the root of the monopoly evil, I would do as I have often had occasion to do—go back to the Bible for an explanation—and I would find it in the declaration that the love of money is the root of all evil.

Let me repeat that the primary cause of monopoly is the love of money and the desire to secure the fruits of monopoly; but I believe that falling prices, caused by the rising dollar, have contributed to this desire, and intensified it, because people, seeing the fall in prices, and measuring the loss of investments, have looked about for some means to protect themselves from this loss, and they have joined in combinations to hold up prices to protect their investments from a loss which would not have occurred but for the rise in the value of dollars and the fall in the level of prices.

Another thing that, in my judgment, has aided monopoly is a high tariff. Nobody can dispute that a tariff law, an import duty, enables a trust to charge for its product the price of a similar foreign product plus the tariff.

Now, some have suggested that to put everything on the free list that trusts make would destroy the trusts. I do not agree with this statement as it is made so broadly. I believe that the high tariff has been the means of extortion, and that it has aided trusts to collect more than they otherwise could collect. But I do not believe you could destroy all trusts by putting all trust-made articles on the free list. Why? Because, if an article can be produced in the country as cheaply as it can be produced abroad, the trust could exist without the aid of any tariff, although it could not extort so much as it could with the tariff. While some relief may come from modifications of the tariff, we cannot destroy monopoly until we lay the ax at the root of the tree and make monopoly impossible by law.

It has been suggested that discrimination by railroads has aided trusts. No question about it. If one man can secure from a railroad better rates than another man, he will able to run the other man out of business. And there is no question that discrimination and favoritism secured by one corporation against a rival have been largely instrumental in enabling the favored corporations to secure practically a complete monopoly. Now, that can be remedied by laws that will prevent this discrimination; but when we prevent the discrimination—when we place every producer upon the same footing and absolutely prevent favoritism—monopoly may still exist. The remedy must go farther. It must be complete enough to prevent the organization of a monopoly.

Now, what can be done to prevent the organization of a monopoly? I think we differ more in remedy than we do in our opinion of the trust. I venture the opinion that few people will defend monopoly as a principle, or a trust organization as a good thing, but I imagine our great difference will be as to remedy, and I want, for a moment, to discuss the remedy.

We have a dual form of government. We have a state government and a federal government, and while this dual form of government has its advantages, and, to my mind, advantages which can hardly be overestimated, yet it also has its disadvantages. When you prosecute a trust in the United States Court, it hides behind state sovereignty; and when you prosecute it in the state court, it rushes to cover under federal jurisdiction—and we have had some difficulty in prosecuting a remedy.

I believe we ought to have remedies in both state and nation, and that they should be concurrent remedies. In the first place, every state has, or should have, the right to create any private corporation which, in the judgment of the people of the state, is conducive to the welfare of the people of that state. I believe we can safely intrust to the people of a state the settlement of a question which concerns them. If they create a corporation, and it becomes destructive of their best interests, they can destroy that corporation, and we can safely trust them both to create and annihilate, if conditions make annihilations necessary. In the second place, the state has, or should have, the right to prohibit any foreign corporation from doing business in the state, and it has, or should have, the right to impose such restrictions and limitations as the people of the state may think necessary upon foreign corporations doing business in the state. In other words, the people of the state not only should have a right to create corporations they want, but they should be permitted to protect themseles against any outside corporation.

But I do not think this is sufficient. I believe, in addition to a state remedy, there must be a federal remedy, and I believe congress has, or should have, the power to place restrictions and limitations, even to the point of prohibition, upon any corporation organized in any state that wants to do business outside of the state. I say that congress has, or should have, power to place upon the corporation such limitations and restrictions, even to the point of prohibition, as may to congress seem necessary for the protection of the public.

Now, I believe that these concurrent remedies will prove effective. To repeat, the people of every state shall first decide whether they want to create a corporation. They shall also decide whether they want any outside corporation to do business in the state; and, if so, upon what conditions; and then congress shall exercise the right to place upon every corporation doing business outside of the state in which it is organized such limitations and restrictions as may be necessary for the protection of the public.

I do not believe that the people of one state can rely upon the people of another state in the management of corporations. I am ready to adopt any method that anybody can propose that looks to the annihilation of the trusts.

One method has occurred to me, and it seems to me a complete method. It is this: That congress should pass a law providing that no corporation organized in any state should do business outside of the state in which it is organized until it receives from some power created by congress a license authorizing it to do business outside of its own state. Now, if the corporation must come to this body created by congress to secure permission to do business outside of the state, then the license can be granted upon conditions which will, in the first place, prevent the watering of stock; in the second place, prevent monopoly in any branch of business; and, third, provide for publicity as to all of the transactions and business of the corporation.

If such law be unconstitutional, and so declared by the Supreme court, I am in favor of an amendment to the constitution that will give congress power to destroy every trust in the country. The first condition which I suggest is that no water should be allowed in the stock. I do not agree with those who say it is a matter entirely immaterial whether a corporation has water in its stock or not. It may be true that, in the long run, if you are able to run as long as the corporation can, the stock will fall to its natural level; but during all that time the harm goes on; during all that time the trust demands the right to collect dividends upon capital represented by no money whatever. I do not believe that any state should permit the organization of a corporation with a single drop of water in the stock of that corporation. The farmer cannot inflate the value of his land by watering the value of that land.

The merchant in the store cannot inflate the value of the goods upon his shelves. Why should the corporation be permitted to put out stock that represents no real value?

Why, there are instances where there are $4 of water for $1 of money. No man can defend stock that does not represent money invested, and only in the case of a monoply can you secure dividends upon stock that does not represent money invested. In my judgment, when you take from monopoly the power to issue stock not represented by money, you will go more than half the way toward destroying monopoly in the United States.

The law should provide for publicity. As has been well said, corporations cannot claim that they have a right, or that it is necessary, to cover their transactions with secrecy, and when you provide for publicity, so that the people can know just what there is in the corporation, just what it is doing, and just what it is making, you will take another long step toward the destruction of monopoly.

But I am not willing to stop there. I do not want to go one or two steps; I want to go all the way, and make a monopoly absolutely impossible. And, therefore, as a third condition, I suggest that this license shall not be granted until the corporation shows that it has not had a monopoly and is not attempting a monopoly of any branch of industry or of any article of merchandise—and then provide that, if the law is violated, the license can be revoked. I do not believe in the government giving privileges to be exercised by a corporation without reserving the right to withdraw them when those privileges have become hurtful to the people.

Now, I may be mistaken, but as I have studied the subject it has seemed to me that this method of dealing with the trusts would prove an effective method; but if you once established the system and require the license, then congress can, from year to year, add such new conditions as may be necessary for the protection of the public from the greed and avarice of great aggregations of wealth. I do not go so far as some do, and say that there shall be no private corporations; but I say this—that a corporation is created by law; that it is created for the public good, and that it should never be permitted to do a thing that is injurious to the public, and that if any corporation enjoys any privileges to-day which are hurtful to the public, those privileges ought to be withdrawn from it. In other words, I am willing that we should first see whether we can preserve the benefits of the corporation and take from it its possibilities for harm.

My contention is that we have been placing the dollar above the man; that we have been picking out favorites and bestowing upon them special privileges, and every advantage we have given them has been given them to the detriment of other peole. My contention is that there is a vicious principle running through the various policies which we have been pursuing; that in our taxation we have been imposing upon the great struggling masses the burden of government, while we have been voting the privileges to a few people who will not pay their share of the expenses of the government.

Every unjust tax law is an indirect form of larceny. If, for instance, a man who ought to pay $10 only pays $5, and one who ought to pay only $5 pays $10, the law that compels this contribution from these two men virtually takes $5 from one man's pocket and puts that $5 into the other man's pocket, and I have claimed that when we collected our taxes we were making the poor people pay not only their share, but the share of the men whom they have no chance to meet at the summer resorts. There are some people who have visible property, others who have invisible property, and the visible property is always taxed. The invisible property has too often escaped, and as a result the people owning visible property have not only paid their own taxes, but the taxes that should have been paid by the owners of invisible property. I have advocated an income tax because I believe it the most just tax.

If the government will quit picking out favorites, and follow the doctrine of equal rights to all and special privileges to no man, I have no fear that any man, by his own brain or his own muscle, will be able to secure a fortune so great as to be a menace to the welfare of his fellow men. If we secure a government whose foundations are laid in justice and laws exemplifying the doctrine of equality before the law—if we can secure such a government and such laws—and wealth is then accumulated to a point where it becomes dangerous, we can meet that question when it arises, and I am willing to trust the wisdom of society to meet every question that arises and remedy every wrong.

As to the multi-millionaires now in existence, I would wait and see whether they would die off soon enough to relieve the country of danger. Life is short. If, however, their accumulations should become a menace, I would then consider what measures would be necessary for the protection of society. And this brings me to what I regard as a very important branch of this subject. Every trust rests upon a corporation—at least, that rule is so nearly universal that I think we can accept it as a basis for legislation. Every trust rests upon a corporation, and every corporation is a creature of law. The corporation is a man-made man.

When God made man as the climax of creation, he looked upon his work and said that it was good, and yet when God finished his work the tallest man was not much taller than the shortest, and the strongest man was not much stronger than the weakest. That was God's plan. We looked upon his work and said that it was not quite as good as it might be, and so we made a fictitious person called a corporation, that is in some instances a hundred times, a thousand times, a million times, stronger than the God-made man. Then we started this man-made giant out among the God-made men. When God made man he placed a limit to his existence, so that if he was a bad man, he could not do harm long; but when we made our man-made man, we raised the limit as to age. In some states a corporation is given perpetual life.

When God made man, he breathed in to him a soul, and warned him that in the next world he would be held accountable for the deeds done in the flesh; but when we made our man-made man, we did not give him a soul, and if he can avoid punishment in this world, he need not worry about the hereafter.

My contention is that the government that created must retain control, and that the man-made man must be admonished: "Remember now thy creator in the days of thy youth," and throughout thy entire life.

Let me call your attention again to this distinction. We are not dealing with the natural man; we are not dealing with natural rights. We are dealing with the man-made man and artificial privileges.

What government gives the government can take away. What the government creates it can control, and I insist that both the state government and the federal government must protect the God-made man from the man-made man.

I have faith that these questions will be settled, and settled right, but I want to protest against this doctrine that the trust is a natural outgrowth of natural laws. It is not true. The trust is the natural outgrowth of unnatural conditions created by man-made laws. There are some who would defend everything, good or bad, on the ground that it is destiny, and that you cannot inquire into it. The fact that it is proves that it is right; the fact that it is proves that it has come to stay, and the argument most frequently made in defense of a vicious system is, not that it is right and ought to stay, but that it has come to stay whether you like it or not. I say that that is the argument that is usually advanced in behalf of an error—it is here, it has come to stay—what are you going to do about it?

I believe that, in a civilized society, the question is not what is, but what ought to be, and that every proposition must be arraigned at the bar of reason. If you can prove that a thing is good, let it stay; but if you cannot prove that it is good, you cannot hide behind the assertion that it is here and that you cannot get rid of it. I believe that the American people can get rid of anything that they do not want—and that they ought to get rid of everything that is not good. I believe that it is the duty of every citizen to give to his countrymen the benefit of his conscience and his judgment, and cast his influence, be it small or great, upon the right side of every question that arises. In the determination of questions we should find out what will make our people great and good and strong rather than what will make them rich. "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches." Shall we decide the ethics of larceny by discussing how much the man is going to steal or the chances of his getting caught? No, my friends, we must decide questions upon a higher ground, and if you were to prove to me that a monopoly would reduce the price of the articles that we have to purchase, I would still be opposed to it for a reason which, to my mind, overshadows all pecuniary arguments. The reason is this: Put the industrial system of this nation in the hands of a few men, and let them determine the price of raw material, the price of the finished product, and the wages paid to labor, and you will have an industrial aristocracy beside which a landed aristocracy would be an innocent thing.

I may be in error, but, in my judgment, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, will be impossible when a few men control all the sources of production and dole out daily bread to all the rest on such terms as the few may prescribe. I believe that this nation is the hope of the world. I believe that the Declaration of Independence was the grandest document ever penned by human hands. The truths of that declaration are condensed into four great propositions: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to preserve those rights, and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Such a government is impossible under an industrial aristocracy. Place the food and clothing, all that we eat and wear and use, in the hands of a few people, and instead of being a government of the people it will be government of the syndicates, by the syndicates, and for the syndicates. Establish such a government, and the people will soon be powerless to secure a legislative remedy for any abuse. Establish such a system, and on the night before election the employes will be notified not to come back on the day after election unless the trusts' candidate is successful. Establish such a government, and instead of giving the right of suffrage to the people, you will virtually give the right of suffrage to the heads of monopolies, with each man empowered to vote as many times as he has employes. I am not willing to place the laboring men of this country absolutely at the mercy of the heads of monopolies. I am not willing to place the men who produce the raw material absolutely in the hands of the monopolies, because when you control the price that a man is to receive for what he produces you control the price that he is to receive for his labor in the production of that thing.

The farmer has no wages except as wages are measured by the price of his product, and when you place it in the power of the trust to fix the price of what the farmer sells, you place it in the power of the trust to lower the wages that the farmer receives for his work, and when you place it in the power of the trust to raise the price of what he buys, you do the farmer a double injury, because he burns the candle at both ends and suffers when he sells to the trust and again when he buys of the trust.

Some people have tried to separate the laboring man who works in the factory from the laboring man who works on the farm. I want to warn the laboring men in the factories that they cannot separate themselves from those who toil on the farm, without inviting their own destruction. I beg the laboring men in the factories not to join the monopolies to crush the farmer, for as soon as the farmer is crushed the laboring man will be crushed, and in a test of endurance the farmer will stand it longer than the laboring man.

I come from an agricultural state—one of the great agricultural states of this nation—and I want to say to you that while our people are, I believe, a unit against the trusts, we can stand the trusts longer than the laboring man can; we can stand all the vicious policies of government longer than the laboring man can. The farmer was the first man on the scene when civilization began, and he will be the last one to disappear. The farmer wants to own his home; he ought to own it. I think that this nation is safer the larger the proportion of home-owners. I want every man with a family to own his home; the farmer wants to own his home, but if you will not allow him to own his home, he can rent. He will have to be employed to work the farm.

Take his farm from him by mortgage if you like, but the man who forecloses the mortgage and buys the property will not work the farm. He will need the farmer to work for him, and he will have to give the farmer enough to live on or the farmer cannot work. When prices fall so low that the farmer cannot buy coal, he can burn corn. But when prices fall so low that the coal miner cannot buy corn, he cannot eat coal. You can drive the farmer down so that he cannot buy factory-made goods; but his wife can do like the wife of old—make the clothing for the family off of the farm; but when you close your factories it will take all of the accumulated wealth of the cities to feed the people brought to the point of starvation by vicious, greedy, avaricious legislation.

But why should we try to see who can hold out the longest in suffering? Why try to see who can endure the most hardships and yet live? Why not try to see who can contribute most to the greatness and to the glory and to the prosperity of this nation? Why not vie with each other to see who can contribute most to make this government what the fathers intended it to be? For one hundred years this nation has been the light of the world. For one hundred years the struggling people of all nations have looked to this nation for hope and inspiration. Let us settle these great questions; let us teach the world the blessing of a government that comes from the people; let us show them how happy and how prosperous people can be. God made all men and he did not make some to crawl on hands and knees and others to ride upon their backs. Let us show what can be done when we put into actual practice the great principles of human equality and of equal rights. Then this nation will fulfill its holy mission, and lead the other nations step by step in the progress of the human race toward a higher civilization.

W. J. Bryan

TRUST LEGISLATION AND PARTY ATTITUDES

By HON. WILLIAM B. ALLISON,
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I DO not know how it is possible to raise any issue between political parties as respects trusts and monopolies in restraint of trade, or for control of prices or control of products, but this subject is now brought forward as though it was an entirely new question, and if one party favored monopolies and combinations in restraint of trade, or to control prices or products, whilst the other was opposed to such monopolies and combinations, when in fact all parties are now so opposed and have been so opposed in the past. This question has been debated over and over again in the two houses of Congress, the debate beginnng as far back as 1886, when it was attempted to regulate trade and commerce among the states by imposing just restraints upon railway transportation companies and water transportation companies acting in conjunction with railroads. It had before that time been thoroughly established that it was in the power of the states to regulate the transportation of commodities within the several states, but that this regulation could not extend to commerce among the several states, and that this could only be regulated by act of Congress.

This debate resulted in the passage of the law known as the interstate commerce act, in 1887. Following the legislation, in 1888, the Republican party in its national platform of that year approved this legislation, and declared in addition, its opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the trade among citizens, and recommended to congress such legislation as would prevent the execution of these schemes. The Democratic platform of 1888 was silent on this subject. In pursuance of this recommendation in the Republican platform, the interstate commerce act was amended and strengthened by a law, approved March 2, 1889. The purpose of these two laws was to prevent unjust discrimination against one class of shippers in favor of another class, and to prohibit with severe penalties all rebates, unjust discriminations and other devices intending to unjustly discriminate between shippers; in short, to prevent unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between states as respects the distribution of commodities.

In view of the promises made by the Republican platform in 1888, the question of dealing with trusts and combinations came up early in the session beginning in December, 1889, the Republicans having the president and both houses of congress. The question was carefully considered by the proper committees of both houses and a law was finally passed, on July 2, 1890, making illegal all trusts and combinations in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states, and making those violating its provisions liable to severe penalties. In that discussion it was supposed that congress went as far as it could properly go in this direction, and this law has proven effective in many cases and especially against railroads which sought to combine with each other in making common rates for freight extending over a large area of the country, the supreme court declaring such combination a violation of the law of 1890. The public opposition to trusts at that time was quite as severe as it is now, and was especially aimed at what was then known as the sugar trust, the Standard Oil trust, the binding twine trust, the cordage trust and the cotton bagging trust—the last three having totally disappeared from public view. So that the question of dealing directly with these trusts was undertaken by congress as far back as 1890, and the law of that year was passed by a Republican congress, although there was no partisanship in the debate or in the votes. Sincere efforts were made by all parties to impose just restraints upon these combinations to control prices or to control production and trade between the states.

In 1892 the Republicans re-affirmed their position as to combinations of capital organized as trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of trade, approved the legislation of 1890, and commended such amendments as might be necessary to make the law effective. The Democratic party in the same year, for the first time, made a declaration against these trusts, demanding the rigid enforcement of the laws already made, and recommended such other legislation as experience might show to be necessary. The Democratic party came into power on March 4, 1893, and continued in power until March 4, 1897. It had full control of congress during the first two years and of the senate during the last two years, but in neither house of congress was any effort made during these four years to modify, amend, extend or improve the law of 1890, except the insertion of a single section in the tariff law of 1894, proposed by Senator Morgan, of Alabama, applying the law to combinations in relation to imported goods which was adopted without objection in either house.

The supreme court in 1894 decided in a case brought before it, that under the constitution congress does not have the power to control or restrain the production of any article of commerce within a state, and that the power of congress to regulate it does not attach until there is a sale and purchase, and until the article purchased starts on its journey from one state to another.

So the question as it stands to-day is, how to deal with the monopolies and illegal combinations, and not whether they should be dealt with at all. The Republican party has not hesitated to deal with this question in the past, as I have shown, and who can truthfully say that we shrink from dealing with it now? After all, it is a question under our dual form of government how far congress can go or to what extent the states must exercise the power. Congress has tried it, and nearly all the states have tried it. Republican and Democratic states have made drastic laws on the subject. Our own state in the twenty-third general assembly passed, practically by a unanimous vote, a stringent law on this subject, with severe penalties, going even to the extent of forfeiting the charters of those corporations engaged in violating the statute. I know of no one in either party who is not willing to amend these laws, and strengthen them where they can be strengthened by amendments, nor do I know of anyone who does not welcome every practical suggestion having in view the strengthening of these laws, both state and national.

As a step in this direction the last congress, on June 19, 1898, authorized the appointment of a non-partisan commission to collate information and to consider and recommend legislation to meet the problems presented by labor, agriculture and capital. This commission was appointed, and to make sure that a responsible report would be made on this subject and other subjects committed to it, the law requires that five members of the commission shall be members of the house of representatives and five of them members of the senate, selected from both political parties; and requires that nine shall be appointed by the president, by the advice and consent of the senate, so that a majority of the commission is responsible to the two houses of congress. The commission was appointed, and early entered upon the discharge of its duties, with authority to send for persons and papers and to administer oaths and affirmations—a potential authority. It has been in almost constant session since its organization. It has taken up the question of monopolies and combinations to control production and prices and trade. It is required to report its results to congress and recommend proper legislation on the subject, and in addition to furnish such information and suggest such laws as may be made a basis for uniform legislation by the various states of the union in order to harmonize conflicting interests and to be equitable to the laborer, the employer, the producer and the consumer. This commission is composed, as its title indicates, of men engaged in the different industries and occupations of our country, selected because of their special knowledge as respects these subjects. Is it not probable that they will be able to make valuable suggestions to congress on this subject? This law providing for an investigation on this subject was certainly a step in the direction of its solution. The information they are collecting will be of value to the various states and to their legislatures, to be presently in session, in securing general harmony of state legislation on this subject. So it will be seen that the last congress took a valuable and important step in securing official information as a basis for future legislation on this subject, not only national but state legislation.

The department of labor, at the head of which is Carroll D. Wright, an able and impartial investigator, with its expert force, is also making a thorough investigation of this subject in all its bearings.

The Civic Federation of Chicago has made a valuable contribution to this subject, by securing as far as practicable a non-partisan and impartial discussion of it recently, where all shades of opinion were expressed and a variety of remedies proposed.

In trying to find remedies to remove the evils of trusts and combinations, efforts have been made to find the cause of their origin. Mr. Bryan traces them in part to the scarcity of money arising from the failure to adopt free coinage and because of the appreciation of gold, which he seems to think has taken place, resulting in hard times and falling prices. He thinks that manufacturers, during the period of depression, sought trusts as a means of at least keeping above water. If that was the cause, of course the remedy would be free coinage of silver, which would no doubt destroy them, and all legitimate business and industries besides.

Some attribute them to our protective system as reflected in the tariff, but if they had their origin in this cause it was very late in its development, for we have had a protective tariff most of the time since the foundation of the government, and all the time from 1861 to 1864, and even the tariff of that year had a strong flavor of protection. Those who trace the trusts to this cause want free trade, like Mr. White. Free trade would undoubtedly destroy some of them, but it would destroy our industrial system, fabricating more than twelve thousand millions of dollars in value of products annually, at the same time, and thus create a much greater evil. But if the tariff is the cause of these combinations, why is it that those that are most complained of, such as Standard Oil, anthracite coal, and others of greater or less note, are not affected by the tariff at all? If the tariff produces trusts, why is it that, as a rule, the prices of the products manufactured under its protection are governed by competition? We have only recently had experience as to the effects of applying a tariff for revenue only, or free trade, to our industrial system, and it was then paralyzed and laborers were thrown out of employment, or if employed, working at greatly reduced wages. We see now these industries all employed and all the wage-earners employed also, and their wages are being constantly increased. But if trusts can be traced to our tariff laws, why is it that in England, where they have absolute free trade, trusts abound and have for many years? It is well known that for many years prior to the tariff law of 1890 there was a tinplate trust in Wales that absolutely controlled the price of the tinplate exported to this country, but our tariff policy broke up that trust and enabled all the consumers of tinplate to purchase at a reduced price, and all was practically made by our own workmen, employed by our own capital in our own mills, and even now, with the large advance that has been made in the price of raw material from which tinplate is made, such as block tin and pig iron, the price of tinplate is less than it was before our tinplate industry was established. You destroy our tinplate industry by making its importation free and you throw out of employment all of the men who are engaged in it here and all the capital invested in the mills as well, and restore the trusts in Wales.

Others say that discriminations made by railroad corporations in the transportation of products, by giving these trusts benefits not enjoyed by others, have been a fruitful source of trusts, and that these discriminations must be prevented by law. But we have now on our statute books a most stringent law as respects interstate commerce, and similar laws in all our states as respects local or state commerce. It may be said that these laws are not rigidly enforced, but if those we have are not, is it likely that more stringent laws will be enforced because of their stringency? But that is a remedy which may be applied without involving the discussion of constitutional questions. The states have complete power over commerce within the state, and congress has the full power of regulation as respects commerce among the states, and if laws already on the statute books are not sufficiently stringent or punitive, congress and the state can make them so by amendments to existing laws.

Other remedies have been suggested of doubtful constitutionality. Mr. Bryan made some suggestions in this direction at Chicago, but he would not declare when questioned that in his opinion they were constitutional; but he has also warned us in his platform of 1896, reiterated and emphasized in the Democratic platform in this state this year, that "the Democratic party has resisted the tendency of selfish interests toward the centralization of governmental power and steadfastly maintained the integrity of the dual scheme of government established by the founders of this republic. Under its guidance and teachings the great principle of local self-government has found its best expression in the maintenance of the rights of the states and in the assertion of the necessity of confining the general government to the exercise of powers granted by the constitution of the United States."

In the face of this explicit warning congress will have a care not to go beyond the exercise of powers granted, and will not likely try to spread itself into all the states by the exercise of powers not granted to the general government. And it may be difficult in view of this warning to secure the necessary two-thirds vote for a constitutional amendment that will preserve the integrity of the dual scheme of government and the just rights of the states, and at the same time cure the evils resulting from the trusts. Many of the Democratic states are sensitive as to constitutional amendments infringing upon their local sovereignty as respects their local affairs. They have insisted in the past with great vigor that the United States should not even take control or direction of elections in the states for the purpose of ascertaining the true wish of voters at the polls at national elections although these voters have a vital interest in national affairs, and desire that the national government shall exercise its just powers with the consent of the governed. It is notorious that many of the states have so framed their own constitutions as to deprive large bodies of citizens of the power of exercising the suffrage absolutely necessary if this "potential principle" of the consent of the governed is to prevail. They might hesitate to establish universal control over the local affairs of their states and state corporations by means of machinery that would enter into every state for the purpose of exercising control there uninfluenced by local opinion.

In view of public opinion so universally expressed covering all phases of this question, and in view of the fact that congress and the legislatures have already considered the subject and acted upon it as best they could without reference to party, it is strange that the Democratic party tries now to make party capital out of it. Its insincerity in this effort is apparent to the most casual observer, and the public is not likely to be misled by this "I am holier than thou" attitude.

This is an important question in the evolution of our economic life and deserves to be treated as such, inviting and requiring the highest ability and the best purposes of all parties and of all students for its solutions, and in the end, if the greatest good is to be obtained, all these must be invoked. Congress will, and the legislatures of the several states will, with the aid of all these lights, through their proper committees and by means of the fullest debates legislate in such way as to minimize, if not wholly eradicate, the evils which are found in these combinations, now declared illegal or which may hereafter be declared so.

But this is not the only question, with reference to which the Democratic party this year undertakes to mislead the public mind. With an insurrection on our hands, and complicated questions to settle arising out of our war with Spain, they seek to hinder and delay the peaceful settlement of these questions by giving aid and comfort to those who are now in armed hostility to our government.

W. B. Allison

"TRUSTS MUST GO."

By HON WILLIAM SULZER,
Member of Congress, New York.

I AM opposed to the government delegating away its powers to national banks. In my judgment they already possess entirely too much power. They are doing precisely to-day, only to a greater extent, what the United States Bank did in the days of Andrew Jackson. The right to coin and issue money is one of the greatest prerogatives of the Republic and one of the highest attributes of its sovereignty. It should not be delegated, transferred, assigned, or set over to any national bank, to any trust, or to any monopoly. As Democrats and believers in the meaning of this day, we should resist the encroachments of national banks on the liberties of the people with the same zeal and the same courage that Andrew Jackson resisted the audacious claims of the United States Bank in his day. And when the national banks impudently declare that the government should go out of the banking business, we should answer that the banks should and must go out of the governing business. And we should make that answer good now and for all time to come.

In Jackson's day there was only one Nick Biddle. To-day there is a Nick Biddle in every national bank in the land.

We invoke the memory of President Andrew Jackson against the encroachments on the rights of the people of the national banks. They menace our Republic to-day. Jackson waged the most bitter and relentless war of his life against the United States Bank, and finally destroyed that gigantic monopoly. If he had not it would have destroyed the Republic. One of the greatest acts of his life was the veto of the bill extending the charter of that bank trust. In the light of what is going on to-day that veto message should be read by every citizen in our land. There is a bill now pending in Congress which gives to the national banks of the country far greater powers and privileges than were ever enjoyed by the United States Bank.

If it should become a law we would give the monopoly of issuing money to the national banks, and hence the right to expand or contract the currency of the people whenever it suited their convenience. No corporation should have this power to make or destroy. It would deprive the government of one of its greatest attributes of sovereignty and give to the national banks the right to paralyze, at their own will, every industry in the country. It is the most daring attempt the banks have ever made by law to seize one of the greatest weapons for good or evil known to civilized man. For the government to surrender this prerogative and delegate away this power would be a crime against every citizen in this land and work woe and misery to millions yet unborn.

Let me say here, it is a matter of gratification for me to tell you that the recent you that the recent attempt to pass through Congress an international bank charter met with the signal and the overwhelming defeat that the scheme deserved. It was one of the most iniquitous bills ever presented to Congress. According to its terms there was no limit to its powers for pelf and no end to its possibilities for evil. If it had been enacted into law it would have created the greatest trust the world has ever seen. By virtue of its provisions it would monopolize, own and control almost everything under the sun. It was the most colossal scheme ever devised by the ingenuity of man to rob and swindle the people and to enslave for all time to come the industrial masses.

Under the provisions of that bill this gigantic financial trust, with unlimited capital, unrestricted powers, and unparalleled opportunities, would soon absorb, monopolize, own, and control the wealth, the treasure, and the commercial and industrial business enterprises of the land. The bill was so cleverly drawn that the men behind it could practically do anything from buying and holding land to loaning money on personal property, and they could do it all on their own terms and fix their own rates of interest. It would have been the trust of trusts. It was the greatest trust franchise Congress was ever asked to give away, and I am happy to state by a very decisive vote Congress placed its seal of condemnation on the colossal scheme. But it will come up again. The forces of corruption are always active, never conquered. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

We should also invoke the patriotic spirit of the great destroyer of the United States Bank monopoly, Andrew Jackson, and, following in his footsteps, should enlist in the war of the people against the trusts. Andrew Jackson was the implacable foe of monopoly. Were he alive to-day he would be the implacable foe of the trusts.

To-day the great trusts of the country are practically supreme. Many of them are so intrenched in power that they are to all intents and purposes above the law and no longer amenable to legislative action. The crying evil of the times is the power and the sway of the trusts. They endanger not only our free institutions but our free men. The battle cry of the Democratic party should be, "The trusts must go!"

To-day about 200 trusts control, wholly, or in large part, every conceivable product and industry of the country.

These gigantic combinations constitute, in my judgment, the greatest menace at the present time to our democratic institutions. They control the supply, monopolize the product, and dictate the price of every necessary of life. They force out of legitimate employment thousands and thousands of honest toilers. They enhance prices, reduce wages, and write the terms of their own contracts. They destroy competition, paralyze opportunity, assassinate labor, and hold the consumers of our country in their monopolistic grasp. They levy tribute on every man, woman and child in the Republic. They blight the poor man's home, darken the hearthside of his children, cloud the star of legitimate hope, and destroy equal opportunity. They control legislation, escape taxation, and evade the just burdens of government, while their agents construct and maintain tariffs to suit their selfish ends and greedy purposes. They imperil trade, stagnate industry, regulate foreign and interstate commerce, declare quarterly dividends on watered stocks, and make fortunes every year out of the people. Their tyrannical power, rapid growth, and centralization of wealth are the marvel of recent times and the saddest commentary on our legislative history. Prior to the civil war there was not a trust in the country except the United States Bank trust, which Jackson killed.

They practically own, run, and control the government to-day, and defy successful prosecution for violation of law. If their power of centralization is not speedily checked, and they go on for another quarter of a century like they have in the past few years, I believe our free institutions will be destroyed, and instead of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, we will have a government of the trusts, by the trusts, and for the trusts.

How much longer will the people humbly consent to be robbed and submissively permit a continuation of this outrageous policy of favoritism by class legislation? All legislation bestowing special benefits on the few is unjust, and against the masses and for the classes. It has gone on until less than eight per cent. of the people own more than two-thirds of all the wealth of our country. It has been truly said that monarchies are destroyed by poverty and republics by wealth. If the greatest republic the world has ever seen is destroyed, it will fall by this vicious system of robbing the many for the benefit of the few.

The total population of the United States is about 70,000,000. The total aggregate wealth of the United States, according to the best statistics that can be procured, it is estimated at about $62,000,000,000, and it appears, and no doubt much to the surprise of many, that out of a total population of 70,000,000 less than 40,000 persons in the United States own more than one-half of the entire aggregate wealth of the land. And this has all been brought about by legislation during the last twenty-five years.

The centralization of wealth in the hands of the few by the robbery of the many during the past quarter of a century has been simply enormous, and the facts and figures are appalling. Three-quarters of the entire wealth of our land appears to be concentrated in the hands of a very small minority of the people, and the number of persons constituting that minority grows smaller every year. The legislative schemes which have been most favored for checking this growing centralization of wealth are generally the most elusive and the most impotent.

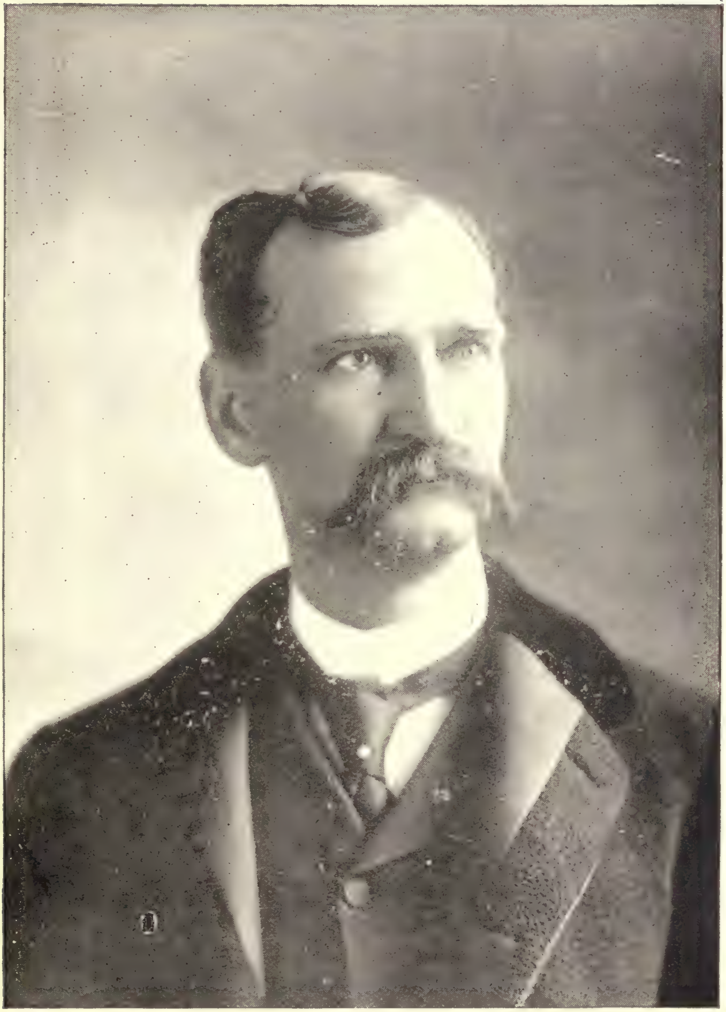
Impartial students of these startling facts and statistics can hardly escape the irresistible conclusion that a conspiracy exists, and has existed for some time to convert the government of the United States into a powerful oligarchy of wealth. The millionaires, the plutocrats, the trusts, the monopolies, and the syndicates seem to be supreme and legislate for their own interests, benefit and protection. If it continues, the yeomanry of our country will soon be reduced to a condition of industrial serfdom more pitiable than ever existed before in the history of the world.

The money power, the trusts, the syndicates, and the favored few of the land threaten the perpetuity of our free institutions by subsidizing the pulpit, buying the press, seating well-paid attorneys in legislative halls and courts of justice, stifling free speech and the right of lawful assembly and stretching out their tenacles to the colleges of the land to crush professors who have the courage of their convictions and dare to tell the truth regarding economic and social principles.

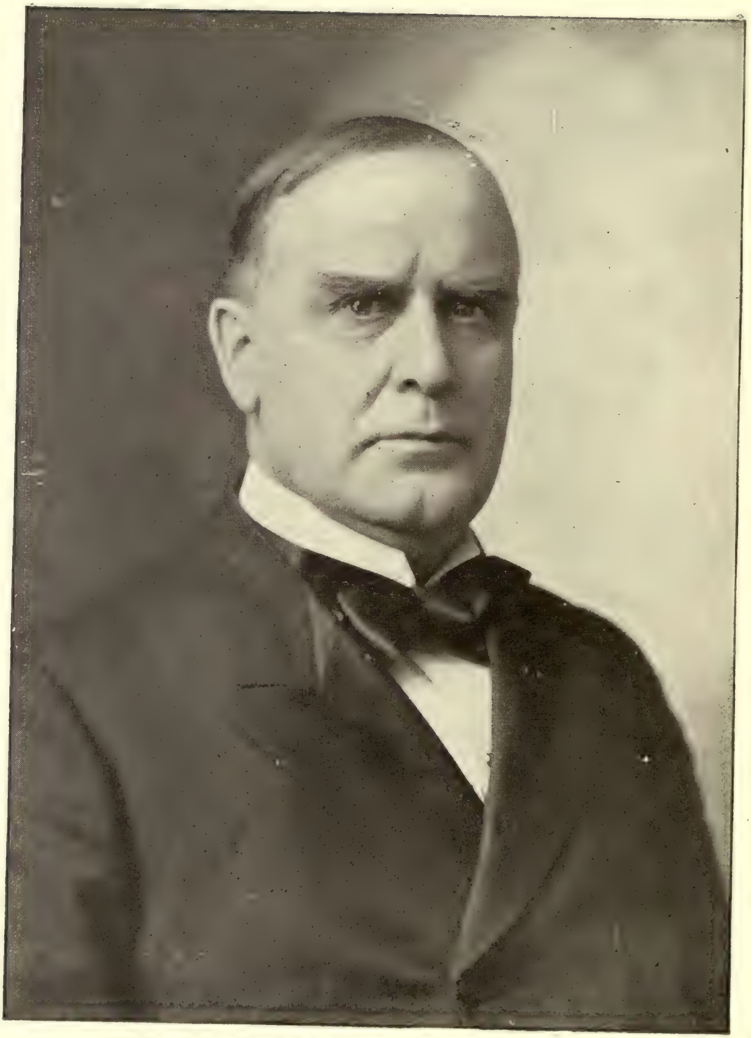
In this war of extermination against the octopus which is enslaving our industrial masses, and destroying our free institutions, we should invoke the aid and support of every lover of liberty, and every disciple of Andrew Jackson. He said: "The union must and shall be preserved." Let us now as firmly resolve and proclaim that the rights and liberties of the people must and shall be preserved from the insidious encroachments of aggregated wealth.

WILL VAN AMBERG SULLIVAN.

Will Van Amberg Sullivan, Democrat, of Oxford, Miss., was born December 18, 1857, near Winona, Miss.; received his education near Sardis, in Panola County, at a country school, at the University of Mississippi, and at the Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.; graduated from the latter institution in 1875; completed the two years' law course during his university period; began the practice of law in the fall of 1875 at Austin, in Tunica County, where he continued to reside till March, 1877, when he moved to Oxford, Miss., at which place he has continued in the practice of law since; has never been a candidate for any office; was a member of the Democratic National Convention in 1892, and was by the National Democratic Convention of 1896, at the request of the State of Mississippi, elected a member for Mississippi of the National Democratic Executive Committee, which position he now holds; was nominated for Congress, though not a candidate for the position, but a deadlock between the four aspirants having continued for several days, the nomination was tendered to and accepted by him; was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress; was appointed and sworn in as United States Senator from the State of Mississippi on May 30, 1898, as successor of Senator E. C. Walthall, deceased; elected by the legislature January, 1900, to fill out the term which expires March 3, 1901. Has added to his regular floor duties those of membership of the committees on Civil Service Retrenchment, District of Columbia, Immigration, Improvement of the Mississippi River, Public Lands, To Investigate the Condition of the Potomac River Front at Washington, the last named being a select committee.



WILL VAN AMBERG SULLIVAN.



WILLIAM McKINLEY.

REPUBLICAN PARTY.

LIFE OF WILLIAM McKINLEY,

Nominee for President.

THE McKinley family formed a part of that important immigration known as Scotch-Irish. Two branches came to America about the beginning of the eighteenth century, one of which settled in the South, the other in the North, and presumably in York County, Pa.; at least one James McKinley, who came to this country when twelve years old, with his father, resided at York in 1775, and had a son named David McKinley, who served in the Revolutionary war. After the war he moved to Westmoreland County, Pa., then to Mercer County, then to Columbiana County, Ohio, and finally to Cranford County, where he died, in 1840.

His second son, James McKinley, grandfather of our subject, was born September 19, 1793, and resided in Mercer County, Pa., where he married Mary Rose. He moved to New Lisbon, Ohio, in 1809, taking along his son William McKinley, father of our subject, who was born November 15, 1807. William McKinley married Nancy Campbell Allison, in 1827, and resided at Niles, moving thence to Poland and to Canton, Ohio, where he died in 1892.

His son, William McKinley, our subject, was born at Niles, Trumbull County, Ohio, January 29, 1843. Moving with his father, who was in the iron business, to Poland, Mahoning County, young McKinley was educated there in the public schools and academy. At the age of seventeen he entered Allegheny College, but owing to ill health soon returned to Poland, where he taught school for a time, also a Bible class, and became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

On June 11, 1861, he entered service in the Union army, as a private in Company E, of the 23d Ohio Volunteers, being but eighteen ears of age. The regiment rendezvoued at Camp Chase, where most of its members, who were three-months' men, re-enlisted for three years, McKinley being among this number. On joining the forces in the guerrilla field of West Virginia, the regiment was first stationed at Clarkesburg. Its first battle was that of Carnifex Ferry, September 10, 1861, which resulted in the retreat of the Confederates. After recruiting at Camp Ewing, on New River, the regiment marched upon Princeton, W. Va., where a battle was fought, May 15, 1862, resulting in a retreat of the Union forces. The West Virginia force, including the 23d Ohio regiment, was now ordered to the Great Kanawha, on its way east, to reinforce McClellan. It arrived in time to join McClellan's march toward Frederick City, Md., in order to head off Lee's threat upon Washington and Baltimore.

Meanwhile, McKinley had been promoted to commissary sergeant, April 15, 1862. In the sanguinary battle of South Mountain, September 14, 1862, McKinley's regiment, Col. Hayes commanding, was attached to Cox's division, which held the advance of McClellan's army. This division received the full weight of the Confederate attack, and was fearfully decimated, McKinley's regiment losing over 200 men. On the 17th the still more bloody battle of Antietam was fought, in which McKinley's regiment was called into action on the right of the Kanawha division before daylight, and without breakfast. The entire division soon found its left and rear exposed to an attack of the enemy from a corn-field. The colors of the 23d Ohio went down amid the furious fire but quickly to be hoisted again on a new line facing the enemy, to which the line of the entire regiment promptly conformed, and with a withering fire forced the enemy to retire. The regiment did not receive the division orders to retire, and held its position till the arrival of a special order to fall back, which was on the afternoon of the next day.

All through the stubborn and bloody battle, Sergeant McKinley spared no effort to relieve the men of his regiment of the pangs of hunger and thirst. He was in the midst of the angry fires of conflict from morning to night serving with his own hands the food and drink which the men had been deprived of by the early morning outburst of battle. His bravery and fortitude on this occasion won for him the praise of superior officers and the gratitude of his fellow soldiers. Recognition of his self-sacrifice and heroism reached the Governor of his State and he was rewarded with a promotion to the Second Lieutenancy of Company D, September 23, 1862.

After the relief which came through the battle of Antietam, McKinley's regiment was sent once more to West Virginia where its presence was much needed. It made a hasty march to the Great Kanahwa where it went into winter quarters. On February 7, 1863, Lieutenant McKinley was promoted to be First Lieutenant of Company E of the 23d Regiment. During 1863 the regiment was engaged in scouting duty, and it participated in the engagement at Buffington Island which terminated Morgan's raid into Ohio. In the winter of 1863-64 the regiment was in winter quarters at Charleston, West Virginia.

In the spring of 1864 it marched to Brownstown where it

WILLIAM SULZER.

William Sulzer was born in New York City, March 18, 1863, and was educated at the public schools and Columbia College. His father, Thomas Sulzer, was compelled to flee from Germany for participation in the revolutionary struggle of 1848. William studied law and quickly gained a reputation at the bar and for political oratory, stumping the States of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut for the Democratic National Committee in 1884 and 1888. He was elected to the State Legislature in 1889 where his force and merit soon found speedy recognition. In 1893, he was elected as presiding officer of the assembly, and to his influence was due many of the most important enactments of his party. He was elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress in 1894, as a champion of Jeffersonian Democracy, and he soon made a fine record in the greater arena of the National Legislature. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, and was a firm supporter of William J. Bryan for the nomination of and his eloquent advocate for President in the Presidential canvass. He was re-elected to the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses by increased majorities, and ranks as one of the most useful members from the Empire State. He is over six feet in height, and carries his 185 pounds with graceful ease, being too busy and abstemious to accumulate useless tissue. He is a prominent member of the New York Press Club and several other social organizations in the city of New York. During his term in Congress he has worked hard for all measures in the interest of organized labor, and the wage earners all over the country know him to be their friend, and are deeply grateful for what he has accomplished for them. Mr. Sulzer is, and always has been, popular with his colleagues, and by experience, temperament and executive ability is in every way qualified for the responsible and arduous position of the leadership of the minority,

WILLIAM SULZER.

WILLIAM H. TAFT.

WILLIAM H. TAFT.

William H. Taft, of Cincinnati, Ohio, is the son of the late Alphonso Taft, who served from 1865 to 1871 as judge of the Superior Court of that city, U. S. Attorney-General, under President Grant, and afterwards as minister plenipotentiary to Austria and to Russia. Springing from a source so eminent in law and diplomacy, the son followed an inherited inclination toward the legal profession, and at an early period reached the distinction of a leading jurist in his city. Being of strong judicial turn, he was honored with the appointment of judge of the United States Court for the sixth judicial circuit, with residence at Cincinnati, in which capacity his great legal ability, sterling judgment and vigorous administrative capacity attracted executive attention to him as the proper person to entrust with the new and delicate duties connected with the institution of civil government in the Philippine Islands. Accordingly, on February 6, 1900, President McKinley announced that he had selected a new commission, composed of five members, to proceed to the Philippines for the purpose of taking up the work of instituting a civil regime, of which commission Judge Taft had been made chairman. The other members were Prof. Dean C. Worcester, of the University of Michigan; Gen. Luke E. Wright, of Tennessee; Judge Henry C. Ide, of Vermont; and Prof. Bernard Moses, of the University of California. The President was widely complimented for his selection of such an able and eminent body of men, and for officering it with a chairman who united so thoroughly the judicial turn with power of initiative. At the date of his appointment, Judge Taft was only about forty-five years of age, and therefore in that mental and physical prime demanded for his arduous and protracted task amid a strange people and exacting climate.

became a part of the forces of General Crook, who was preparing for his celebrated raid on the Virginia and Tennessee railroad. This expedition marched toilingly and dangeringly to Cloyd's Mountains where it engaged in a victorious battle with a guerilla force. Pursuing its mountain march, and driving the enemy in frequent minor engagements, the expedition at length united with the forces of Hunter, who had been ordered on a similar raid up the James River. The joint forces started from Lexington, Va., with the intent of attacking Lynchburg. Lee had heavily reinforced Lynchburg from Richmond, and when the Union forces made their attack they were repulsed.

The fortunes of the 23d Ohio now became those of General Hunter to the north of Richmond and in the Shenandoah Valley, or rather its fortunes remained those of General Crook who was with Hunter. The Confederates followed up their success at Lynchburg and attacked the Union forces at Liberty, forcing them in to further retreat. Crook held the rear guard of Hunter's forces, and checked the enemy at Buford Gap. He then made a night retreat to Salem where Hunter was supposed to be. But Hunter had been driven away, and Crook found his rear guard surrounded. It was only by a desperate piece of strategy that he managed to escape from his dilemma. This exhaustive retreat before a largely superior force was kept up till June 27, when the Union forces found rest and food at Big Sewell Mountain.

General Early's success against Hunter's forces emboldened him to carry his invasion of the Shenandoah Valley into a threat against the National Capitol. But Grant sent two corps from Richmond, and with these Hunter turned retreat into pursuit, driving Early as far South as Strasburg. But Hunter made a big mistake of supposing that Lee had called his reinforcements to Early back to Richmond, for suddenly Early turned back on Hunter's scattered forces and drove them northward in a line through Winchester, which Crooks's Command, containing the 23d Ohio, held as Hunter's rear guard. Four miles south of Winchester lay Kernstown, where Hayes' brigade lay. Crook marched his force of 6,000 men thither, and formed a line of battle with Hayes on his left. It soon became manifested that Early was present in force and that a battle impended.

Ou July 24, 1864, Crook's command participated in the fierce battle of Kernstown, Va., and lost nearly a fourth of its men, a full share falling to the 23d Ohio. On the next day McKinley was commissioned captain of Company G. Sheridan now came upon the scene in the Shenandoah Valley, with two corps from Richmond. On September 19 was fought the fierce battle of Opequan, or Winchester, in which Crook's command was instrumental in turning the enemy's left, and forcing Early into disastrous retreat with a loss of 4500 men and many cannon. Sheridan pushed Early to Strasburg, where he again attacked him. In this battle Crook's command suddenly debouched on the enemy's lines, doubling them up in the trenches, while Sheridan charged in front. The enemy fled in panic, leaving 16 guns and 1100 prisoners in Sheridan's hands.

Early was reinforced from Richmond and again invaded the valley, attacking Crook's command at Cedar Creek, on October 18th, and driving it back before aid could be received. But on the 19th the Union forces concentrated, and the furious battle of Cedar Creek was on. Sheridan was at Winchester, 20 miles away, on his return from Washington. Hastening to the scene of action, he found his army beaten and in dismay. Re-organizing his broken forces, he assumed the offensive and soon gained one of the signal victories of the war, recovering the lost field of the morning, driving Early to New Market, 20 miles distant, recapturing all the guns taken by the enemy and 24 besides, and capturing 1600 prisoners and 300 wagons. This significant victory ended Early's invasions of the Valley, and the command to which the 23d Ohio was attached was ordered to Martinsburg.

The subsequent military career of Captain McKinley consisted of duty on the staffs of both Generals Crook and Carroll. On March 13, 1865, he was brevetted major. In the spring of 1865 the 23d Ohio was ordered to Camp Cumberland, where it was mustered out of service, July 26th, closing a four years' career of arduous and honorable service. The soldier boy of eighteen years of age was now a man of twenty-two, and the private of 1861 was now a major.

On his return from the army in 1865, Major McKinley settled at Poland, Ohio. He began a course of law studies in the office of Judge Glidden, of Mahoning County, and afterwards completed it at the Albany Law School, in New York, fighting his way through with limited means. In 1867, he was admitted to the bar of Canton County, and opened office in Canton. With his ample equipment of learning and industry, a forceful and persuasive style of speech, and a charming personal address, his success at the bar was marked. Inside of two years he was nominated by his party for district attorney, and, after a stirring campaign in a strong Democratic county, he was elected. He was re-nominated for the same office, but this time failed to stem the tide of opposition. In these preliminary contests he laid the ground-work of that fame which has ever since been his portion as one of the most captivating and convincing public speakers in the land.

On January 25, 1871, he married Miss Ida Saxton, daughter of James A. Saxton, a banker of Canton, and began housekeeping in the home which has since become historic. They had two daughters, both of whom died young. The blow seriously affected the health of both parents for a time.

In 1876, and at the age of thirty-three, Major McKinley entered the race for Congress in the 18th Ohio District. He secured the nomination, and after one of his characteristic campaigns was elected a member of the Forty-fifth Congress by a handsome majority. He continued to be elected to each succeeding Congress up to 1890, in which year he was defeated by means of an outrageous Democratic gerrymander of his district.

In Congress, Major McKinley was in a field which gave full play to his youthful ardor, large fund of information on economic problems, painstaking industry, fidelity to political convictions, commanding address, parliamentary and diplomatic tact, dignified demeanor, and philosophic turn. He grew rapidly in popularity among members, and in respect and strength among his party associates. His assignment to various important committees of the working kind tested the appreciation of his ability and industry. On the floor, he took rank among the ablest of debaters, by reason of his interest in public questions, wonderful power in the marshalling of facts, forceful logic, fascinating rhetoric, fairness to opponents, freedom from excitement and bitterness, and readiness and keenness in repartee. He spoke not without occasion nor without full knowledge of his subject. What he touched upon he ornamented and exhausted. His earnestness bespoke depth and honesty of conviction. He charmed by lucidity of thought and expression. His foes listened with the same delight as his friends.

On entering Congress, McKinley found a congenial place as member of the committee on Ways and Means. Here he was under the tutelage of such chairmen as "Pig Iron" Kelley and Garfield, and on the highway to his own chairmanship after a service of thirteen years. In 1878 he made his maiden speech on the doctrine of protection, an effort which stamped him as a leader of economic thought. This prepared the way for his powerful advocacy of a Tariff Commission in 1882, whose duty should be tariff revision. This Commission reported the tariff bill of 1883, in the discussion of which McKinley divided honors with veterans like Judge Kelley, who said of him that "he has distanced all his colleagues in mastering the details of the tariff." By 1884 he had deservedly and honorably won the title of "Champion of American Protection." In 1888, his committee report which headed off the "Mills Tariff Bill," and the speech which he delivered upon it, became potent agencies in the campaign which elected Harrison and a Republican House of Representatives.

In 1890, he became the father of the tariff bill which afterwards bore his name. Its passage occupied the entire time of the first session of the Fifty-first Congress, during all which Mr. McKinley stood as its special champion. Its passage was a monument to his ability, patience and endurance, and in the tide of prosperity which followed, his name was heard in every hamlet, workshop and home as that of a benefactor to the toiling millions.

In 1894, when the Wilson tariff bill, which President Cleveland denounced as a product of "perfidy and dishonor" and permitted to become a law without his signature, was upon its passage, Mr. McKinley addressed himself to the country upon its demerits and in favor of the underlying principles of the act of 1890.

In June, 1891, Mr. McKinley was nominated by a unanimous Republican convention as candidate for Governor of Ohio. He made a typical "campaign of education," visiting 86 counties, and speaking 130 times, and was elected by a handsome majority. He was re-nominated and re-elected by a majority of 80,000, at that time the largest but one in the history of the State. He secured for his State a wise, economical and honorable administration, making a special effort in the direction of much needed reforms, and exercising with signal firmness and discretion the restraining powers of government during the prolonged strikes of 1894.

As early as 1880, Mr. McKinley's name was mentioned in connection with the presidency. In 1884 his name was brought before the National Republican Convention, though not with his sanction. In 1888, the presidency lay within his reach, but he declined it on a point of honor, being a delegate pledged to support the candidacy of Senator John Sherman. In the National Convention of 1892, Mr. McKinley was the presiding officer, and pledged to support the nomination of Harrison. The party bosses, opposed to Harrison, attempted to stampede the convention for McKinley, and cast 182 votes for him against his protest. When Ohio's vote was cast in his favor, he challenged its correctness, left his chair, took the floor, and checked the incipient stampede by moving that the nomination of Harrison be made unanimous.

Between 1892 and 1896 the finger of party sentiment pointed invariably toward McKinley as a presidential possibility. There were other aspirants, but no name inspired the masses like that of McKinley. The popular tide ran stronger and stronger in his favor as the respective State Conventions met. Politicians pulled in vain against the trend of sentiment. Ere the day of the National Convention dawned at St. Louis, June 16, 1896, it was definitely known that his nomination could not be defeated. His friends organized that convention, framed a platform on the two great distinctive lines of protection and sound currency, and when the time for voting came, nominated him for president on the first ballot by a vote of 661 1-2 out of a total of 924. Mr. Hobart of New Jersey was selected as his running mate.

The nomination was accepted throughout the country as the strongest that could have been made. The campaign began in a unique and vigorous way immediately after the nomination, by a series of congratulatory episodes, in the form of club and delegation visits to him at his home in Canton. These served to show the high place he occupied in the affections of his party, the intense longing that existed for the triumph of what he stood for in the platform of principles, and the anxious desire of the country to escape from the then existing industrial depression and financial gloom. The number and enthusiasm of these visitations, as if of pilgrims to a Mecca, were remarkable in the history of campaigns. They served a far more effective purpose than any entourage or stump oratory of the nominee could have achieved, for they opened to him the opportunity for that marvellous series of felicitous and brief replies, which distinguished him in a new role of oratory, covered in brief, epigrammatic form every issue at stake, and constituted the clearest cut and most impressive literature of the campaign. They not only saved him from the exhaustion of travel, but left him fresh for every recurring reception. Many of them ranked as literary gems, and found frequent quotation throughout the land. They abounded in history, the logic of events, the wisdom of experience, and the hopeful visions of prophecy. His masterpiece of home eloquence was his acceptance of the nomination at the hands of the committee of notification, and it was hardly exceeded in grace of diction, strength of logic, deliberation of view and fervency of exhortation to duty, by his subsequent letter of acceptance.

The opposition to the Republican party and its candidates was centered in William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, who had received the nomination of the combined Democrats and Populists, on the Chicago platform, whose chief plank was free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. He fought his battle ably and eloquently, and found his following in the south and west. As election day approached, and the party lines became fixed, a strong interest pervaded the country. The popular result in November was a splendid realization of Republican hopes and expectations. The popular vote stood 7,107,980 for McKinley and 6,509,056 for Bryan, while the vote in the Electoral College showed 271 for McKinley and 176 for Bryan. Bryan had captured the usual Republican States of Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, South Dakota, Washington and Wyoming, on Populistic issues, while McKinley won the usual Democratic States of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey and West Virginia. The Republican sweep carried also a majority of the House of Representatives, and assured a Republican majority in the Senate.

At once the country felt the thrill of the result of the presidential election. Sunshine beamed in the dark places of industry and finance. Activity took the place of hopeless lethargy. The transformation reached to the very bed-rock of confidence and energy, and the whole country seemed to have been born into a new estate. On March 4, 1897, President McKinley was inaugurated. The ceremonies embraced a parade of 30,000 troops, the largest of the kind that ever graced a similar occasion, among which was a remnant of his old 23d Ohio regiment.

His inaugural address was an impassioned piece of oratory and an explicit setting forth of administrative views upon living issues. Currency reform legislation was urged and needed, but must wait on tariff revision, for it was the first duty of Congress to stop public deficiencies and secure adequate revenues to the country. He treated the subject of foreign relations conservatively, yet insisted on "a firm and dignified foreign policy, ever watchful of our national honor, and always insisting upon the enforcement of the lawful rights of American citizens everywhere." His address closed with grateful reference to the disappearance of sectionalism between North and South.

The new President surrounded himself with an able cabinet, and at once called the 55th Congress into extraordinary session on March 15th. The President laid before it a special message relating solely to the tariff, the revision of which was the object of the extra session. He showed how in the three fiscal years ending June 30, 1896, the expenditures of the government had exceeded its receipts by $137,811,729, owing to the baleful operation of the Wilson tariff act, and how Mr. Cleveland had been forced to meet the deficit by four different issues of bonds, aggregating $262,315,400. This enormous and continuing deficiency made tariff revision "the imperative demand of the hour," and "Congress should promptly correct the existing condition."

On the opening day of the extra session, March 15, Mr. Dingley, chairman of the House Committee of Ways and Means, presented the tariff bill which he had been preparing for six months, and which came to bear his name. It was debated in the House until March 31, and then passed by a vote of 205 yeas to 121 nays. It was debated in the Senate until July 7, when it was passed by a vote of 38 to 28, and referred to a committee of conference. It was finally passed on July 24. Thus was put into swift operation one of the leading measures of the new administration, and one the country hoped most from as a relief to its crushed industries and bankrupt treasury.

President McKinley speedily fulfilled another pledge to the country, on which he was elected, by appointing a commission (April 12) to sound the sentiment of Europe on the question of bimetallism and the calling of an international conference to secure it. This commission found no bimetallic sentiment in any European country, and its report showed how utterly impossible it would be for the United States, when unsupported by other countries, to put into effect the currency doctrines of Mr. Bryan and his party.

The country remembers with a sense of shame how President Cleveland withdrew from the Senate the treaty executed by President Harrison for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, and how he hauled down the American flag in the islands and sought to re-establish the extinct monarchy. It became the policy of President McKinley to change the humiliating attitude, to foster republican government in the islands, and to encourage their annexation to the United States. A new treaty of annexation was formulated, signed and sent to the Senate, accompanied with a message from the President urging its ratification. It was subsequently ratified in substance by both houses, in the shape of a joint resolution, and a form of republican government was afterwards agreed upon for the islands. Thus the "cross-roads of the Pacific" came into possession of the United States, and a long-standing threat upon American supremacy of the western ocean was removed.

On May 17, 1897, President McKinley sent a message to

Congress asking that $50,000 be appropriated for the relief of distress among American citizens resident in Cuba. Congress promptly granted this humanitarian request, and the desired aid was sent.

Spanish cruelties in Cuba, and arrogant demands upon the United States, began to attract the attention of the administration and country. In his message to Congress, December 6, 1897, President McKinley reviewed in detail the Cuban situation, and showed how he had on repeated occasions entered protest against Spain's uncivilized methods of warfare against the Cuban insurgents. Of the different lines of action open to the United States, he rejected recognition of the insurgents as belligerents, and recognition of Cuban independence, and advocated that of intervention on the ground of humanity.

On January 24, 1898, the battleship Maine was blown up in Havana harbor. Instantly the country was ablaze, and a just and true course for the administration became difficult. House and Senate both proved impetuous, and indulged in heated debates, whose prevailing sentiment was speedy war with Spain, without waiting the results of investigation by either the navy department or other commissions. The President remained calm, and retained hope of a peaceful settlement. He was chided by the hot-headed of both parties, and Mr. Bailey, leader of the Democrats in the House, even went so far in his excitement and demagogic action as to charge him with lack of patriotism, and his party of cowardice. It became plain that Congress was bent on some radical step, and the President took occasion to again (April 11) review the entire Spanish and Cuban situation in a special and deliberate message, and to state that he had now exhausted every obligation imposed on him by the Constitution to relieve an intolerable condition of affairs. He, therefore, left the issue with

Congress, with the request that it authorize him to intervene for the purpose of stopping the war in Cuba, and securing a stable government for the island by the use of the military and naval forces of the United States. On April 19, the Congress, after exciting debates, passed a joint resolution demanding that Spain relinquish at once her authority in Cuba and withdraw her land and naval forces, and that the President of the United States be empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States and to call on the militia of the several states to carry the resolution into effect. On the next day the Spanish minister at Washington demanded his passports, and Spain declared diplomatic relations with the United States ended. A state of war existed, and Sampson's fleet was ordered to blockade Cuban ports.

President McKinley threw into the war all his personal experience as a soldier, all his energy as a statesman, and all the power and influence of his administration, which last he had so deliberately and happily conducted as to leave it and the country free from the charge of seeking war in a hasty spirit and through selfish aims. It was an unsought war, one rendered necessary only after every honorable means to avert it had been exhausted, one whose existence was justified by every humanitarian principle. But it was, nevertheless, one to be fought in earnest and to the nation's glory. And so it was fought. The country and Congress reposed the utmost confidence in the President. He had acted wisely in every preliminary step. He had disarmed fear of intervention by foreign powers. Congress voted him $50,000,000 to meet preliminary and extraordinary expenses. On April 23, he called for 125,000 volunteers. The complement was quickly filled. On May 25, he called for 75,000 additional men. The response was immediate. Transports were provided for the invasion of Cuba. The navy was strengthened by additional ships. Commodore Dewey, in command of the American naval squadron at Hong Kong, was ordered to strike the Spaniards at Manila, and on May 1, occurred the great battle there which resulted in the destruction of the Spanish fleet. Then came the quick dispatch of soldiers from San Francisco to reinforce Dewey and capture and hold Manila.

By June 20, 18,000 American troops had been landed in Cuba, for the investment of Santiago, and after the two splendid victories at La Quasina and El Caney, Santiago capitulated, July 17. On July 3, Cevera's fleet was entirely destroyed in its attempt to escape from Santiago harbor. On July 25, Porto Rico was invaded by an army under General Miles. On August 13, the city of Manila was captured from the Spaniards. On August 12, Spain acknowledged total defeat and a protocol was signed, suspending hostilities and providing for a peace commission. President McKinley speedily appointed an American Commission of five to meet a Spanish Commission at Paris. A treaty was agreed upon, December 10, by which Spain relinquished her sovereignty in Cuba, surrendered all her other West India possessions to the United States, and ceded to the United States the Philippine archipelago and island of Guam, on payment of $20,000,000.

Thus, from April 19, when a state of war was recognized, to August 12, when the protocol was signed, a period of 115 days, the United States had swept from Spain her island possessions in Occident and Orient, destroyed her effective fleets, and humbled her in the eyes of nations. Victory was as complete as the war had been brief and brilliant. Congress and the country had stood by the administration as it had stood by them. As executive of the nation and commander in chief of its forces, President McKinley had achieved for his country a new place among the powers, and his directing hand was more than ever needed to guide her through the intricate paths of responsibility entailed by signal victory. Let it be remembered in this connection that the multitudinous problems of conquest were of a kind wholly within his keeping, until Congress could act upon them. As head of the military he alone was responsible for that provisional rule of ceded territory which its holding, its peace, or its disposition under treaty terms, required.

When the treaty commissioners at Paris were at odds, and no treaty seemed likely,the President's wisdom served to bring about terms of agreement. As to the Spanish contention that Cuba should be saddled with any part of the debt of Spain, that was declared out of the question. It was seen that Spain could not be allowed, in the interest of future peace, to retain any partial property in the Philippines. But as she had spent much in permanent investments which she could not take away, and which would enure to the benefit of the United States, she was generously allowed $20,000,000 for them, together with exemption from all claims of American citizens against her.

The treaty was duly signed and presented to the Senate, with a request for its prompt consideration and ratification. It was ratified, but after a character of debate by its opponents, and a delay, which offered encouragement to the Filipinos, who had turned to be insurgents under the lead of Aguinaldo, and opened for the administration a series of new and unexpected problems in the Philippines.

Meanwhile the administration was meeting promptly and effectively the numerous and serious matters relating to the health and discharge of returning soldiers, the institution of provisional governments in Cuba and Porto Rico, the raising and sending of reinforcements to the Philippines. Amidst all, it became necessary for the President to formulate and make known a policy respecting the new possessions. This he did, and in such terms as to convince the country of his profound study and full understanding of the situation, of his integrity of purpose, of his thorough Americanism, and of his resolve not to subtract from the fruits of victory by yielding up conquered territory, nor impair the glory of American institutions by failure to apply them to new conditions. He had no dread of imperialism, expansion and militarism, for such, he said, could not exist outside of morbid imaginations, or except as tricks of demagogic speech. To every charge that the provisional rule instituted for Cuba savored of permanent occupancy, he answered with the text of the treaty which established the American duty, and with the integrity of administrative intention.

As it became plain that the Filipino insurgents were determined to resist American authority to the end, the President's duty became imperative. He could not confess defeat at the hands of the rebellious. He must restore and keep order. And so he sent the necessary force to crush organized rebellion. Along with it he sent an able commission to inquire and report upon the character of people and institutions, and the best form of government to adopt. The assurance ever went along that the natives were to be their own rulers in the American sense as quickly as they showed the proper degree of fitness. The report of this commission was full of instruction for both President and Congress. It was followed by another commission, whose head was Judge Taft, and whose duty was to formulate such self-government for the islands as the conditions of the people warranted. Thus the President continued to proceed along the most conservative yet firm lines respecting the Philippine problem. He had the satisfaction of seeing, before the rainy season of June, 1900, set in, the insurgents broken into irresponsible bands of mountain brigands, and every important town garrisoned by American troops; and he deemed the time propitious to issue a proclamation extending annesty to all who laid down their arms and returned to peaceful walks.

As was natural, the President was anxious that the voice of the nation, as expressed at the November elections of 1898, should approve of his policy regarding new possessions. It had become almost usual for the people to change the party complexion of Congress at the first opportunity after a presidential election. The elections of 1898 proved an exception. The Republicans retained the House by a reduced majority, and the majority in the Senate was increased. The verdict was a substantial endorsement of the policy of the administration as to the new possessions.

President McKinley's message to the last session of the 55th Congress, December 5, 1898, was, in the main, an historic review of the Spanish war, a fuller expression of policy and duty respecting new possessions, and an urgent appeal for reform of our currency system. It being the short session, few measures concerning the policy of the administration were reached or passed.

Through an able commission appointed by the President, the United States became a representative among the twenty-six nations which composed the celebrated peace conference, called by Czar Nicholas II, of Russia, and which met at the Hague, May 18, 1899.

The unhappy state of affairs which arose in Samoa, owing to the triple control of the islands by Great Britain, Germany and the United States, and the dissatisfaction and uprising among the natives, was quietly and prudently relieved by President McKinley, through a commission, acting in concurrence with commissions of the other powers. As a result the United States became an owner of one of the principal islands, and the invaluable Pacific harbor at Pago Pago.

During the summer of 1899, the administration pushed its policy of reforms in the provisional governments of Cuba and Porto Rico, and several reciprocity treaties with foreign nations were framed in accordance with the provisions of the Dingley tariff act. On July 6, the President issued a special order calling for ten new regiments to take the place of volunteers in the Philippines, whose term of service had expired. The persistent efforts of Aguinaldo, through his wily envoys, to entrap American authorities at Manila into concessions which would appear like recognition of his power in the Philippines, were defeated by the wise instructions of President McKinley to General Otis, and other functionaries.

As a pointer to the public estimation in which the President was then held, the Republican National Committee met at Washington, December 14, 1899. Its members were reported to be unanimous in favor of the renomination of McKinley. The 56th Congress convened, December 4. The President's message congratulated the country on its prosperity and the good-will among the people. Imports and exports were the largest in history. A surplus of $48,000,000 of revenue was foreseen for the fiscal year. The gold standard must be upheld. The currency laws must be remodelled. Trusts should claim the early attention of Congress. Foreign relations were satisfactory. The building of the Nicaragua canal should be authorized. The history of military operations in the Philippines and the efforts to set up civil government there were related in full. The message was regarded as a very able and patriotic one, withholding nothing for fear of criticism, and presenting in clear and vigorous form the measures which were expected to give color to the administration.

One of the earliest problems of the session was our relations with Porto Rico. On account of the poverty of the people, aggravated by a disastrous hurricane, the President, in his message, advised the remission of duties on their trade. The House Republicans took the ground that the principle of protection ought not to be surrendered entirely, especially since it might seriously affect our relations with the Philippine question. They recommended a reduction of duties to fifteen per cent. of those in the Dingley act. As the islanders were in need, the President, while yielding to the wisdom of the House position, recommended the return to them of the duties priorily collected under the Dingley act, amounting to some $2,000,000, The humanity of this proposition carried it through. Meanwhile, in the Senate, the Republicans deemed the time had come for creating a civil government for Porto Rico. This further complicated the situation, but it gave opportunity for lengthy and fiery debates, and for an exploiting of the whole colonial situation. The President's advice and policy were put thoroughly to the test before the bar of sentiment. The result was, reduced duties on Porto Rican trade and a civil government patterned after our own. This government the President put into immediate effect by the appointment of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Allen, as Governor. He was inaugurated May 1, 1899.

The whole Philippine question came conspicuously before Congress, in a measure entrusting the government of the islands, till further, to the President under his military power. Again debate was long and ardent, involving all the pros and cons of expansion, imperialism, militarism, right of conquest and holding, title to the islands, and every conceivable thing out of which campaign issues could be made. The President was wisely left alone to pursue the policy he had adopted, till Congress should see fit to act affirmatively in the matter.

The most prominent of the administration measures was currency reform. A bill had been presented early. It underwent a long debate and frequent amendment, and became a law, March 14, 1900. This act settled the question of a gold standard, and relieved the anxiety respecting our system which had long pervaded banking institutions, financial centres, and the Federal treasury. It was at once a triumph for the administration, and the redemption of a solemn pledge of the Republican party to the country.

In his analysis of the currency bill Senator Wolcott said: "The provisions of the bill secure to the people a needed increase in the volume of the currency, prevent the future depletion of the gold in the Treasury, and encourage a more extended use of our bonds by the national banks of the country. But, above all, the success attending its passage has demonstrated that our own people and the nations of Europe have faith in the permanence of our institutions and our financial integrity. Our debt is funded at 2 per cent. per annum, and millions of our interest charge saved annually. The world has never witnessed so triumphant a financial success as has followed the passage of the currency law, and our 2 per cent. bonds, held the world over, already command a substantial premium. Through the policy of the Republican party and the wisdom of a Republican administration we have not only made stable and permanent our financial credit, at home and abroad, are utilizing more silver as money than ever before in our history, but we have left the Populistic Democracy a dead issue they can never again galvanize into life, and compelled them to seek to create new issues growing out of a war which they were most eager to precipitate."

On March 3, 1899, President McKinley was the guest of honor at the annual banquet of the Ohio Society of New York City. In his address he defended his administration against the imputation of its cherishing a policy of imperialism.

"There can be no imperialism," he said. "They who fear it are against it; those who have faith in the republic are opposed to imperialism. They who allege the existence of a policy of imperialism are simply men who have no confidence in the virtue, or capacity, or high purpose, or good faith of the American people; whereas the supporters of the administration believe that after more than a century of free government we are eminently well-fitted for the task of lifting up and assisting to better conditions and larger liberty those distant peoples who have become our wards. To lose faith in our power to perform the task before us, is to lose faith in the strength of our popular institutions. Our burden is our opportunity; the opportunity is greater than the burden. May God give us strength to bear the one, and wisdom so to embrace the other, as to carry to our distant acquisitions the guarantees of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

A signal triumph of his administration was that diplomatic arrangement with the great powers of Europe, and with Japan, by which they agreed to respect American treaty rights in China, in case the latter country underwent partition. England had tried to secure such an agreement two years before, but failed.

As to the South African war, the administration assumed an attitude of neutrality, the same as other nations had extended to the United States during the war with Spain. And yet, when the Presidents of the two Dutch republics appealed to our own government for intervention, President McKinley laid the appeal before Lord Salisbury, with the expression of a wish that war might cease. Of course he could go no further without giving offense. And when a Boer commission visited this country, after making a fruitless tour of Europe, they were cordially received by the government as citizens of republics with whose cause sympathy existed, but were given to understand that an official recognition could not be extended without stultifying the nation's attitude of neutrality.

During President Cleveland's administration an offer of settlement was made to the Pacific railroads which would have brought us $42,000,000 out of the $70,000,000 due us in principal and interest. President McKinley, refusing to consider as binding the former offer, and acting within the authority of Congress, collected every dollar of both principal and interest due from the Union Pacific Company, and the principal of the debt due from the Kansas Pacific. We saved more than twenty millions of dollars over the offer of settlement made by Mr. Cleveland, and have collected all of the principal and most of the interest due us. Thus was this transaction closed, and has since been followed by a settlement of the debt of the Central Pacific Railroad, calling for every dollar of principal and interest of the debt, amounting to $58,000,000.

By the time of the adjournment of the first session of the 56th Congress, June 7, 1900, it had shown, by the passage of most of the vital legislation recommended by the President, that the administration had its generous support and confidence. The Nicaragua bill, passed in the House, failed in the Senate, but it was agreed that more progress had been made with it than in any similar length of time. The same was true of the measure looking to the upbuilding of our merchant marine.

The date of the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia (June 19) had now arrived. The President's position before his party and the people was a most enviable one. He stood not only as the logical but the universally accepted candidate for renomination. Indeed, he had been already nominated by the voice of every State convention in its selection of instructed candidates, administration endorsement,and enunciation of platform principles. He had already been nominated by that cautious, conservative, solid sentiment which saw in him the safest guardian of the issues whose final solution must pass to his successor. The National Convention of 1900 was, therefore, but little more than an historic review of three years of Republican administration, and a grand ratification meeting. It assembled in the city of the Declaration, the Constitution, and the first Republican Convention. It was fully representative in its 926 delegates. It was intelligent, attentive, enthusiastic, and of one mind as to its choice of a nominee for the presidency, and its platform of principles. In the language of its eloquent temporary chairman, Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, its first pleasant duty and instinctive impulse was "to send a message of affectionate greeting to our leader and our country's President, William McKinley. In all that pertains to our welfare in times of peace his genius has directed us. He has shown an unerring mastery of the economic problems which confront us, and has guided us out of the slough of financial disaster, impaired credit and commercial stagnation, up to the high and safe ground of national prosperity and financial stability. Through the delicate and trying events of the late war he stood firm, courageous and conservative, and under his leadership we have emerged triumphant, our national honor untarnished, our credit unassailed and the equal devotion of every section

JAMES PIPER TALIAFERRO.

James Piper Taliaferro, Democrat, of Jacksonville, Fla., was born at Orange Court House, Va., September 30, 1847, and there spent his boyhood days; is a descendant of Robert Taliaferro, who came from England about 1650 and settled in Essex County, Va., of the Blenheim branch of what has since become a numerous family; his father was Edmund Pendleton Taliaferro, a physician, of Orange County, Va., who resided there all of his life. He was educated in Virginia, leaving the school of William Dinwiddie, at Greenwood, in 1864, to volunteer in the Confederate army, in which he served from that time until the war ended; returned to his home after the war and resumed his studies, removing about a year later to Jacksonville, Fla., where he engaged in the lumber business, with which and other commercial enterprises he has since been connected; is now president of the First National Bank of Tampa and vice president of the C. B. Rogers Company, of Jacksonville; was elected on the first joint ballot of the Florida Legislature to the United States Senate April 19, 1899, to succeed Samuel Pasco; prior to that election he had never been a candidate for any political office, but has always been an active worker in the Democratic party; has been a member of the State Democratic Executive Committee for ten years, and for three years was its chairman; was a member of the Florida State Board of Health up to the time of his election. His term of service will expire March 3, 1905. Mr. Taliaferro has rendered important service as a member of the Senate Committees on Claims, Coast Defences, Organization, Conduct and Expenditures of the Executive Departments, Pacific Railroads, Pensions, and Relations with Cuba.

JAMES PIPER TALIAFERRO.

HENRY MOORE TELLER.

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Henry Moore Teller, Silver Republican, of Central City, was born in the town of Granger, Allegany County, N. Y., May 23, 1830; educated in the common schools, Rushford Academy, and Alfred University; taught school several years; studied law at Anglico, Allegany County; was admitted to practice at Binghamton, N. Y. In January, 1858, removed to Illinois and practiced law there until April, 1861, when he removed to Colorado and resumed the practice of law; received the degree of LL.D. from Alfred University in 1886; never held an office until he was elected to the United States Senate from Colorado on the admittance of that state; took his seat in the United States Senate December 4, 1876, and drew the term ending March 3, 1877; was re-elected December 11 for the full term, and served until April 17, 1882, when he resigned to enter the cabinet of President Arthur as Secretary of the Interior, and served until March 3, 1885; was re-elected to the Senate in January, 1885, and took his seat March 4, 1885; was re-elected in 1891, a Republican in politics but withdrew from the national Republican convention at St. Louis in June, 1896, because of dissatisfaction at the financial plank of the platform; was re-elected in January, 1897, as an Independent Silver Republican, receiving 94 votes out of a total of 100; took his seat March 4, 1897. His term of service will expire March 3, 1903.

Mr. Teller has proved to be one of the ablest expounders and advocates of his party doctrines. Strong and aggressive in debate, and with unusual mental equipment, he has won the respect of friends and foes. He has satisfactorily filled the position of chairman of the Senate Committee on Private Land Claims, and of member of the committees on Appropriations, Claims, Judiciary, Relations with Cuba, Rules and Five Civilized Tribes of Indians.

of our common country to the welfare of the Republic cemented forever. Never in the memory of this generation has there stood at the head of the Government a truer patriot, a wiser or more courageous leader or a better example of the highest type of American manhood.

"The victories of peace and the victories of war are alike inscribed upon his banner. Those of us whose pleasure and whose duty have called us from time to time into his presence know how freely he has spent and been spent in his country's service, but the same vigorous manhood and clear and patriotic vision animate him as of old, and give us confidence and trust for the future of our Republic, because his hand will guide us and his genius direct.

"When Mr. McKinley became President he took the reins of government after four years of Democratic administration. For the first time in more than a generation Democracy had full sway, with both houses of Congress in party accord with the Executive. No summary of the unmerciful disasters of those four years can convey an idea of a tithe of the ruin they wrought.

"In the four years preceding Mr. Cleveland's administration we had paid $260,000,000 of the national debt; he added $230,000,000 to its burdens. He found a tariff act, bearing the name of his successor and our President, fitted to meet the requirements of our necessary expenditures, to furnish the needed protection to our farmers and manufacturers, and to insure the steady and remunerative employment of those who labor. Instead of permitting manufacture and commerce that repose and stability of law which are essential for working out economic conditions, he at once recommended violent and radical changes in revenue and tariff provisions, recommendations which his party in Congress proceeded partially and disastrously to execute. The appalling result of his policy is still fresh in the memory of millions who suffered from it. In four years the country witnessed some 60,000 commercial failures, with liabilities aggregating more than $900,000,000. One hundred and seventy-seven railroads, with a mileage of 45,000 miles, or twice the circle of the globe, and with securities amounting to nearly $3,000,000,000, were unable to meet their interest charges and passed into the hands of receivers. More than 170 national banks closed their doors, with liabilities reaching $70,000,000; wool and all farm products which tariffs could affect, lost tens of millions in value; farm mortgages were foreclosed by thousands throughout the great West; our agricultural exports shrunk in value; the balance of trade which had been in our favor turned ruinously against us; the National Treasury was depleted of its gold reserve; our Government bonds were sold to syndicates at far below their market value before or since, and our steadily declining revenues were insufficient to meet the necessary expenses of conducting the government. If capital alone had suffered, the loss would have been great, but not irremediable. Unfortunately those who rely upon their daily labor for their sustenance, and their families dependent upon them, constituting the great mass of the American people, were made to feel heaviest this burden of disaster. Nearly one-third of the laboring population of the United States were thrown out of employment, and men by thousands, able and willing to labor, walked the highways of the land clamoring for work or food.

"Facing these difficulties, President McKinley immediately upon his inauguration convened Congress in extra session, and in a message of force and lucidity summarized the legislation esential to our national prosperity. The industrial history of the United States for the past four years is the tribute to the wisdom of his judgment. It is quickly epitomized.

"The tariff measure under which we are now conducting business was preceded by an unusual volume of importations based upon common knowledge that certain duties were to be raised; the bill met the popular demand that duties on many of the necessaries of life should be lowered and not raised; advances in invention and new trade conditions made it unnecessary and unwise to revert to the higher tariff provisions of the law of 1890; the increases in the revenue provisions were slight. Yet, notwithstanding all these facts, tending to reduce income, the revenues from the Dingley bill marched steadily upwards, until soon our normal income exceeded our normal expenditure, and we passed from a condition of threatened insolvency to one of national solvency.

"This tells but a small fraction of the story. Under the wise provisions of our tariff laws and the encouragement afforded to capital by a renewal of public confidence, trade commenced to revive. The looms were no longer silent and the mills deserted; railway earnings increased, merchants and banks resumed business, labor found employment at fair wages, our exports increased and the sunshine of hope again illumined the land. The figures that illustrate the growing prosperity of the four years of Republican administration well-nigh stagger belief.

"There isn't an idle mill in the country to-day. The mortgages on Western farms have been paid by the tens of thousands, and our farmers are contented and prosperous. Our exports have reached enormous figures; for the last twelve months our exports of merchandise will exceed our imports by $550,000,000. Our manufactured articles are finding a market all over the world and in constantly increasing volume. We are rapidly taking our place as one of the great creditor nations of the world. Above and beyond all, there is no man who labors with his hands, in all our broad domain, who cannot find work, and the scale of wages was never in our history as high as now."

In equally eloquent and forcible language, and as touching the course of the administration during the difficulties with Spain, Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, on taking the permanent chairmanship of the convention, said:

"We promised to deal with the Cuban question. Again comes the reply, we have done so. The long agony of the island is over. Cuba is free. But this great work brought with it events and issues which no man had foreseen, for which no party creed had provided a policy. The crisis came, bringing war in its train. The Republican President and the Republican Congress met the new trial in the old spirit. We fought the war with Spain. The result is history known of all men. We have the perspective now of only a short two years, and yet how clear and bright the great facts stand out, like mountain peaks against the sky, while the gathering darkness of a just oblivion is creeping fast over the low grounds where lie forgotten the trivial and unimportant things, the criticisms and the fault-findings, which seemed so huge when we still lingered among them. Here they are, these great facts:

"A war of a hundred days, with many victories and no defeats, with no prisoners taken from us and no advance stayed, with a triumphant outcome startling in its completeness and its worldwide meaning. Was ever a war more justly entered upon, more quickly fought, more fully won, more thorough in its results? Cuba is free. Spain has been driven from the western hemisphere. Fresh glory has come to our arms and crowned our flag. It was the work of the American people, but the Republican party was their instrument. Have we not the right to say that, here too, even as in the days of Abraham Lincoln, we have fought a good fight, we have kept the faith, we have finished the work?

"War, however, is ever like the sword of Alexander. It cuts the knots. It is a great solvent and brings many results not to be forgotten. The world forces unchained in war perform in hours the work of years of quiet. Spain sued for peace. How was that peace to be made? The answer to this great question had to be given by the President of the United States. We were victorious in Cuba, in Porto Rico, in the Philippines. Should we give those islands back to Spain? Never! Was the President's reply. Would any American wish that he had answered otherwise? Should we hand them over to some other power? Never! was again the answer. Would our pride and self-respect as a nation have submitted to any other reply? Should we turn the islands, where we had destroyed all existing sovereignty, loose upon the world to be a prey to domestic anarchy and the helpless spoil of some other nation? Again the inevitable negative. Again the President answered as the nation he represented would have had him answer. He boldly took the islands, took them knowing well the burden and responsibility, took them from a deep sense of duty to ourselves and others, guided by a just foresight as to our future in the East and with an entire faith in the ability of the American people to grapple with the new task.

"When future conventions point to the deeds by which the Republican party has made history, they will proclaim with especial pride that under a Republican administration the war of 1898 was fought, and that the peace with Spain was the work of William McKinley."

The platform of the party had been adopted on the second day of the convention, June 20. It embodied the principles of Republicanism in language that the President himself sanctioned, and endorsed his administration, as follows: .

"We endorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen."

On the third day of the convention, June 21, Mr. McKinley's name was placed in nomination by Senator Foraker, of Ohio, in a tribute which excited intense enthusiasm. He said:

"From one end of the land to the other in every mind only one and the same man is thought of for the honor which we are now about to confer, and that man is the first choice of every other man who wishes Republican success next November.

"Four years ago the American people confided to him their highest and most sacred trust. Behold, with what results. He found the industries of the country paralyzed and prostrated; he quickened them with a new life that has brought to the American people a prosperity unprecedented in all their history. He found the labor of this country everywhere idle; he has given it everywhere employment. He found it everywhere in despair; he has made it everywhere prosperous and buoyant with hope. He found the mills and shops and factories and mines everywhere closed; they are now everywhere open. And while we here deliberate, they are sending their surplus products in commercial conquest to the very ends of the earth. Under his wise guidance our financial standard has been firmly planted high above and bebeyond assault, and the wild cry of sixteen to one, so full of terror and long hair in 1896, has been put to everlasting sleep alongside of the lost cause, and other cherished Democratic heresies, in the catacombs of American politics. With a diplomacy never excelled and rarely equaled, he has overcome what at times seemed to be insurmountable difficulties, and has not only opened to us the door of China, but he has advanced our interests in every land.

"We are not surprised by this, for we anticipated it all. When we nominated him at St. Louis four years ago, we knew he was wise, we knew he was brave, we knew he was patient, we knew he would be faithful and devoted, and we knew that the greatest possible triumphs of peace would be his; but we then little knew that he would be called upon to encounter also the trials of war. That unusual emergency came. It came unexpectedly—as wars generally come. It came in spite of all he could honorably do to avert it. It came to find the country unprepared for it, but it found him equal to all its extraordinary requirements. And it is no exaggeration to say that in all American history there is no chapter more brilliant than that which chronicles with him as our commander-in-chief, our victory on land and sea.

In 100 days we drove Spain from the western hemisphere, girded the earth with our acquisition and filled the world with the splendor of our power.

"The American name has a new and greater significance now. Our flag has a new glory. It not only symbolizes human liberty and political equality at home, but it means freedom and independence for the long suffering patriots of Cuba, and complete protection, education, enlightenment, uplifting and ultimate local self-government and the enjoyment of all the blessings of liberty to the millions of Porto Rico and the Philippines. What we have so gloriously done for ourselves we propose most generously to do for them. We have so declared in the platform that we have adopted. A fitting place it is for this party to make such declaration. Here in this magnificent city of Philadelphia, where the evidences so abound of the rich blessings the Republican party has brought to the American people. Here at the birthplace of the nation, where our own declaration of independence was adopted and our Constitution formed; where Washington and Jefferson and Hancock and John Adams and their illustrious associates wrote their immoratl work; here where center so many historic memories that stir the blood and flush the cheek and excite the sentiments of human liberty and patriotism is indeed a most fitting place for the party of Lincoln and Grant and Garfield and Blaine; the party of Union and Liberty for all men to formally dedicate themselves to this great duty.

"We are now in the midst of its discharge. We could not turn back if we would, and would not if we could. We are on trial before the world, and must triumphantly meet our responsibilities, or ignominiously fail in the presence of mankind.

"These responsibilities speak to this convention here and now, and command us that we choose to be our candidate and the next President—which is one and the same thing—the best fitted man for the discharge of this great duty in all the Republic.

"On that point there is no difference of opinion. No man in all the nation is so well qualified for this trust as the great leader under whom the work has been so far conducted. He has the head, he has the heart, he has the special knowledge and the special experience that qualify him beyond all others. And he has also the stainless reputation and character, and has led the blameless life that endear him to his countrymen and give to him the confidence of the respect, the admiration, the love and affection of the whole American people.

"He is an ideal man, representing the highest type of American citizenship, an ideal candidate and an ideal President. With our banner in his hands it will be carried to triumphant victory in November next.

In the name of all these considerations, not alone on behalf of his beloved State of Ohio, but on behalf of every other State and Territory here represented, and in the name of all Republicans everywhere throughout our jurisdiction, I nominate to be our candidate for the Presidency, William McKinley."

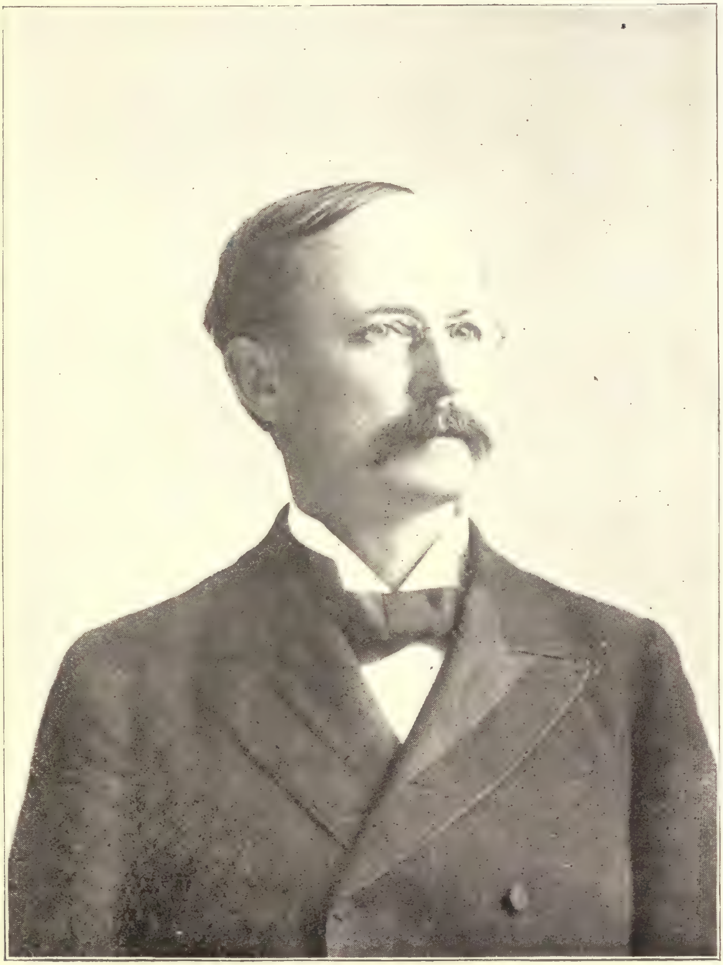
The nomination was brilliantly seconded by Gov. Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, Gov. Mount, of Indiana, Delegate Yerkes, of Kentucky, and Senator Thurston, of Nebraska. By this time the convention was excitedly demanding a vote, and the roll-call of States showed a unanimous voice in favor of President McKinley as the standard-bearer of the party in 1900.

His re-nomination for the presidency was promptly followed by the equally unanimous nomination of Gov. Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, for the vice presidency. Never did convention results prove more gratifying to a deliberative body, or to a party. The conviction was universal that the choice of nominees had been the wisest that could have been made, and that the American electorate would ratify it at the polls in November.

Personally Major McKinley is as attractive to many as is his political leadership admirable among his partisans. He has always won distinction for his uniform courtesy to men and his deference to women. He has been called the Napoleon of protection, as other men have been called Napoleons of finance. He has a face like that of Napoleon, and he possesses the same power to win men to him that made Napoleon the idol of his soldiers. Simple in his tastes, quiet in his manners, firm in his stand for a principle he believes right, McKinley is one of the most courteous men in public life. He makes few enemies, and holds all who know him as friends. His patience is equal to his physical endurance, and he can speak and travel and shake hands all day, and still sit down at night and explain with utmose patience the mysteries of a tariff schedule, or be the most charming companion in a quiet smoke. But in all his sociability there is a purity of speech and thought that makes it as impossible for other men to introduce coarseness or vulgarity as it would be were their mothers, wives or sisters present. Added to this, the devotion of McKinley to his invalid wife makes him the ideal man in the eyes of women. All the world loves a noble, true lover, and such McKinley is to-day, as tender and as gallant to his sweetheart wife as he ever was before they were married, more than a quarter of a century ago.

JOHN MELLEN THURSTON.

John Mellen Thurston, Republican, of Omaha, Neb., was born at Montpelier, Vt., August 21, 1847; his ancestors were Puritans; their settlement in this country dates back to 1636; his grandfather Mellen and great-grandfather Thurston were both soldiers in the Revolutionary War; his parents removed to Wisconsin in 1854; his father was a private soldier in the First Wisconsin Cavalry and died in the service in the spring of 1863; was educated in the public schools and at Wayland University, Beaver Dam, Wis., supporting himself by farm work, driving teams, and other manual labor; was admitted to the bar May 21, 1869, and in October of the same year located in Omaha, where he has since resided; was elected a member of the city council in 1872, city attorney of Omaha in 1874, and a member of the Nebraska Legislature in 1875; was a member of the Republican National Convention in 1884 and temporary chairman of the Republican National Convention in 1888; was president of the Republican League of the United States, 1889 to 1891; was selected as permanent chairman of the Republican National Convention held in the city of St. Louis, June 16, 17 and 18, 1896, which nominated Maj. William McKinley, of Ohio, for President; in 1877 he became assistant attorney of the Union Pacific Railway Company, and in February, 1888, was appointed general solicitor of the Union Pacific system, and held that position at the time of his election to the Senate; was the Republican caucus nominee for United States Senator in the Nebraska Legislature in January, 1893, and received the entire party vote, lacking 5 votes of election; January 1, 1895, was tendered in writing the unanimous vote of the entire Republican membership in the legislature, and was elected January 15, 1895, for the term commencing March 4, 1895. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901. Mr. Thurston has rendered satisfactory service as chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, and as a member of the committees on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, Judiciary, Patents, Railroads, Territories, and Revision of the Laws of the United States.



JOHN MELLEN THURSTON.

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

LIFE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Nominee for Vice-President.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT was born in New York, October 27, 1858. He descended from the old Dutch stock which had settled Manhattan and given it historic renown. His boyhood was surrounded by affluence and opportunity, and he early evinced that delight in physical pastime and athletic culture which he has ever since cultivated, and which has contributed so much to a strong and daring manhood. His higher education was acquired at Harvard College, from which he graduated in 1880.

He entered at once into active political life, and was elected to the New York legislature, in which he served during 1882-84. It was as a member of this body that he became conspicuous in those reforms, of which he has ever been a pronounced advocate. He was a prime agent in framing and securing the passage of the State Civil Service Reform law, a measure for which there was peremptory need at a time when political favors were dispensed in the most reckless and profligate way through the corrupt officials. Looking to the needs of the city and its relations with the State, he was instrumental in securing much other legislation relating to better municipal government. It is a striking coincidence in his history that in after-times, and as governor of his State, he found himself in a position to execute the laws directed toward municipal reform which he had in his younger days been instrumental in passing, and of helping to enlarge their scope and purpose so as to make them applicable to a

"Greater New York," and remedial of a set of conditions inspired by a revival of Tammany powers and corruptions.

With one of his fine ability, determined convictions and exhaustless energy, rise in the councils of his party could not be other than rapid, and in 1884 he served as a member of the Republican National Convention. Meanwhile, in a mixed spirit of business enterprise and physical adventure, he became a ranch owner in the West, where he diversified the profits of stock owning and raising with the delights of the "large-game hunt" amid the fastnesses of the "Rockies." These exhilarating pursuits afforded opportunity for, and perhaps inspired, the use of his pen as a literateur, and in 1883 he published his fascinating descriptive work entitled the "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman," which showed him to be a minute observer of nature and master of as felicitous a style of written expression as that which had already come to characterize his spoken thoughts in debate or on the rostrum.

In the further exercise of his literary inclinations, and in obedience to an historic turn, he published, in 1885, his "History of the Naval War of 1812," a work whose merits were at once recognized by a large circle of readers, and whose production seemed a wonder amid his other activities. In 1886, the Republican situation in New York City called for the exercise of such leadership as his ability, judgment, energy and standing afforded. He was, consequently, made the candidate of the party for mayor, but notwithstanding his popularity among the better class of citizens without regard to party, and a most vigorous and brilliant campaign, he did not succeed in capturing the entrenchments of corruption, though he added largely to a reputation that was fast becoming national.

The activity and turmoil of politics did not distract his literary predilections nor quench his student propensities, for in 1887 he published his "Life of Thomas Hart Benton," a masterly review of the character and work of the great Missouri Senator, and a volume which showed unusual power of research and finely discriminating judgment. This work was followed, in 1888, by his "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail," a graphic and exciting volume containing his observations and experiences amid the scenes of western visitation.

In 1889, he was honored by President Cleveland with an appointment as Republican member of the National Civil Service Commission. This important position served as an admirable outlet for those views of a higher and purer officialdom which he had cultivated from the beginning of his public career. In this capacity he served both his party and country with great credit and usefulness from 1889 to 1895, when he resigned to become president of the New York Board of Police. It was during these years (1889-95) that he published his most pretentious and best studied work, in four volumes, entitled "Winning of the West." This work gave him rank among the leading historians of the day. His "History of New York City" appeared in 1891, and his "The Wilderness Hunter" in 1893.

It was as president of the New York Police Board that devotion to reform ideas brought him much added distinction. He was independent in action, and so rigidly executed the duties of his office as to make himself dreaded by political conspirators and corruptionists. In this capacity his vigor and masterly ability attracted the attention of President McKinley who, on April 6, 1897, appointed him Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and one of his first official acts was to investigate charges of favoritism and violation of other rules in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. In the exercise of that mental alertness and administrative energy which the President expected of him he contributed much to improvements in naval methods and to that forwardness of preparation which old martinets deprecated, but which were soon seen to have been necessary in the light of brilliant achievements in the war with Spain.

Mr. Roosevelt's summer experiences on his Dakota ranch had made him thoroughly acquainted with the cowboys and taught him to admire their daring and force. From 1881 to 1888 he had served as a member of the New York State Guard, and had learned much of military matters. On the breaking out of the war with Spain, his patriotic impulse, joined with his love of active life, lead him to resign his important office at Washington and to recruit, largely from the cowboys, the regiment of Rough Riders, of which he first became lieutenant-colonel and then colonel. They rallied gladly to his call, and with them scores of active young men, many of them of college training and high social standing.

Col. Roosevelt's regiment became a part of the 6,000 troops under General Shafter, which invaded Cuba by landing at Baiquiri, twelve miles from the mouth of Santiago harbor, on June 22, 1898. The next day eight troops of regular cavalry and eight troops of the Rough Riders, all dismounted, and numbering in all less than 1000 men, attacked 2000 Spaniards at La Quasina. The latter had prepared an ingenious ambuscade, and the American troops fronted a storm of Spanish bullets for an hour and a half. There was no means of rescue except by a gallant charge. This was made over difficult ground and up the San Juan hill, Col. Roosevelt gallantly leading his regiment. The enemy was routed and fled in panic, both sides suffering heavy loss.

By July 1, Shafter had concentrated his forces at El Caney, four miles from the Santiago fortifications. Here Col. Wood took command of a brigade, and Col. Roosevelt had full command of his Rough Riders. The battle of El Caney began at 8 A. M., and was fought fiercely and unremittingly until 5 P. M., when the town and the almost impregnable position of the enemy fell into the hands of the Americans, thus bringing Santiago within range of their siege guns. The total loss of the Americans in this engagement was 1,595. On July 14, the Spanish general, Toral, surrendered Santiago and his army to the victorious Americans. On July 3, Cevera's fleet had been destroyed. After their excitement and exhaustion the American forces began to succumb to disease, and the commanding officers, Col. Roosevelt being now in command of the second cavalry brigade, joined in a "round robin," declaring that the army would perish entirely unless taken to some northern point for recuperation, and that its services was no longer needed in Cuba. This appeal had the desired effect on the War Department. Montauk Point, Long Island, was selected as a general camp, and thither were brought some 18,000 of the disease stricken soldiers, to be cured and mustered out of service. Col. Roosevelt added greatly to his popularity as a soldier and humanitarian by his efforts in thus bringing relief to forces which would otherwise have rapidly perished.

He had not only become the idol of his men, but had added a dazzling reputation for dash and bravery to his previous fame as a high police official and as assistant secretary of the navy. Notwithstanding the popular expectation that Governor Black, of New York, whose term of office was about to expire, would be re-nominated, the name of Roosevelt was suggested for the place, and the suggestion seemed echoed throughout the State. The Republican "machine" held aloof for a time, but by the end of August the Roosevelt movement had acquired such momentum as to crush all opposition. The Independents took time by the forelock and placed him in nomination. He declined it, saying that national issues were paramount, that McKinley and sound money must be sustained, and that he would do nothing to jeopardize Republican success in the State.

The Republican nominating convention met at Saratoga on September 27, and nominated Col. Roosevelt for Governor by a vote of 753 against 218 for Governor Black. He conducted one of the most brilliant campaigns the State had witnessed, taking the ground that State and national issues could not be separated, and was elected by a majority of 18,000 votes. He began his administration in a way to commend it to all good citizens, by recommending sound civil service laws, the enforcement of the factory laws, the establishment of boards to supervise municipal affairs, and other useful measures. His term has been characterized by forceful and straight-forward dealing with all questions of State concern, and he so earned the respect of the people and the confidence of his party that he was looked upon as naturally and surely his own successor.

But his brilliant career had appealed no less to the admiration and respect of the people at large, and his name had come to be mentioned with applause throughout the country in connection with the vice presidency of the nation. Feeling that a second term as Governor would suit his tastes and serve his party better than a term as vice president, he made it known that he had no ambitions for the latter place, and even declined every proposition to thus honor him. In coming to the National Convention at Philadelphia as delegate from his State, he brought these convictions along, and asked the respective State delegations to regard his disinclination to become a candidate as sincere. There were doubtless those present in convention who sought to block his further career in his own State by placing him in the vice presidential office, aside from these, he soon found that the tide, especially in the West, was running so strongly in his favor that to attempt to further stem it would be impossible without the appearance of indifference or disrespect. Therefore, after long hesitation at the convention, and upon the advice of those who were his real friends and high up in party councils, he yielded to the overwhelming sentiment in his favor, and agreed to become the running mate of President McKinley.

On the third day of the convention, June 21, he made a magnificent address in seconding the re-nomination of President McKinley. On the same day he was himself placed in nomination for the vice presidency by Congressman Young, of Iowa, and upon a call of States the nomination was unanimously ratified by the convention. His nomination was received on all sides with expressions of enthusiastic satisfaction, no less for what it signified as an element of strength to the ticket than for the manner in which it was brought about.

Mr. Roosevelt is a man of stout athletic proportions, cheery, intellectual face, and very agreeable democratic address. His public speech is not so much rhetorical as earnest, direct and incisive. In 1886, he married Miss Edith K. Carow, and the fruit of a very happy union and ideal domestic estate has been five children, three boys and two girls.

Jointly with President McKinley, and as completing the Republican presidential ticket of 1900, it can be justly and truthfully said that two stronger personalities have not in our day been placed on a ticket together. Each has his separate and independent place and power in the life of the land.

They are strong apart, each in his own way and on his own record. One has a life long and led in national service for nigh forty years, and the other a life short, individual and foremost in State affairs. Together as a ticket they will grow on the country, gather increasing strength and show a firmer hold on the attention, allegiance and support of voters with every week of the coming campaign.

The ticket is one which the party as a whole would have named any time in six months prior to the convention as certainly as on that day. Each commands the situation. Each stands for the precise qualities a first and second place demands in a popular canvass. Together they supplement each other. They place the Republican party before the country as honoring calm experience, deliberate action and long service, and the dash of youth, resistless energy and picturesque activity. They represent both phases of the events of the past four years—the calm statesmanship of the cabinet and the hot valor of the field.

McKinley and Roosevelt is such a ticket for a campaign as not the plans of men and the manipulation of managers ever create, but one forged by events and demanded by millions of voters through their assembled delegates.

CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS.

THE twelfth national convention of the Republican party met at Philadelphia, June 19, 1900, with a full representation of delegates from the respective States and Territories. The meeting place was the hall which had been erected for the use of the Commercial Museums, and which had been enlarged to a seating capacity of 15,000. The citizens had raised $100,000 for the use of the National Committee in conducting the convention. The day prior to the convention was devoted to the hearing and settlement of delegation contests. The evening of that day witnessed one of the most gigantic street parades in the history of the party, in which scores of visiting clubs joined with those of the city.

FIRST SESSION:—On the 19th, at 12.25 o'clock, P. M., Senator Marcus A. Hanna, chairman of the National Committee, called the convention to order. Prayer was offered by Rev. Gray Bolton, of Philadelphia, and his fervid sentiments met with applause. The official call for the convention was read by the secretary, Colonel Charles Dick. Chairman Hanna followed with a brief opening address, in which he stated the object of the convention, urged harmonious action, thanked the national committee for cordial support during his four years' chairmanship, and turned his office over to the new committee.

The name of Senator Edward O. Wolcott, of Colorado, was placed in nomination for temporary chairman, and he was unanimously elected. He accepted the honor in an eloquent address, in which he reviewed with enthusiastic approval the policy of the McKinley administration and the many substantial achievements of the Republican party. His powerful oratory and magnificent historic review, united with his magnetic prophetic utterances, held his 15,000 auditors spellbound for over one hour, and left upon the convention a long-to-be-remembered impression. The day's proceedings were closed by an invocation by the venerable Rev. Edgar M. Levy, who performed a like function at the first Republican convention in Philadelphia, forty-four years before.

SECOND SESSION.—The second day's session opened at noon, June 20, Rev. Dr. C. M. Boswell leading in prayer. An inspiring episode consisted in the presentation of an address by fifteen aged survivors of the first Republican Convention of forty-four years before. The report of the Committee on Credentials was adopted without debate. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, was elected permanent chairman of the convention. He accepted the honor in an able and much applauded address. The report of the Committe on Rules was presented and adopted, with the exception of two clauses relating to delegate representation from Southern States. Senator Fairbanks, of Indiana, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, read the platform of principles for 1900, which was unanimously adopted. At 3 o'clock P. M., the convention adjourned to meet at 10 A. M. of June 21st.

THIRD SESSION.—The third day's session opened at 10.37 A. M., June 21st, Right Rev. Archbishop Ryan leading in prayer. Objections of the previous day to the report of the Committee on Rules were withdrawn. Nominations for President were in order. Senator Foraker, of Ohio, placed the name of President William McKinley in nomination in an eloquent address. The nomination was seconded in able speeches by Governor Roosevelt, of New York, Senator Thurston, of Nebraska, Judge Yerkes, of Kentucky, George A. Knight, of California, and Governor Mount, of Indiana. No other name was placed in nomination. Voting began by States. President McKinley received the unanimous vote of every State, and of the entire convention, 926 votes in all, and was declared the nominee of the Republican party for President.

Nominations for Vice President were in order, and Governor Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, was placed in nomination in an address by Congressman Lafayette Young, of Iowa. The nomination was seconded in speeches by Delegate Murray, of Massachusetts, James M. Ashton, of Washington, and Senator Chauncey M. Depew, of New York. No other nominations were made, and Governor Roosevelt received the unanimous vote of the convention as candidate for Vice President. After some limited routine proceedings the convention adjourned finally at 2.15 P. M. At a subsequent meeting of the National Committee, Senator Marcus A. Hanna was chosen chairman for another four years.

REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM OF 1900.

THE Republicans of the United States through their chosen representatives met in national convention, looking back upon an unsurpassed record of achievement and looking forward into a great field of duty and opportunity, and appealing to the judgment of their countrymen, make these declarations:

The expectation in which the American people, turning from the Democratic party, entrusted power four years ago to a Republican Chief Magistrate and a Republican Congress, has been met and satisfied. When the people then assembled at the polls, after a term of Democratic legislation and administration, business was dead, industry paralyzed and the national credit disastrously impaired.

The country's capital was hidden away and its labor distressed and unemployed. The Democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions, which they had themselves produced, than to coin silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. The Republican party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures—a protective tariff and a law making gold the standard of value. The people by great majorities issued to the Republican party a commission to enact these laws.

This commission has been executed, and the Republican promise is redeemed. Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the status of any Government obligations.

Every American dollar is a gold dollar or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any nation. Capital is fully employed and labor everywhere is profitably occupied.

No single factor more strikingly tells the story of what Republican government means to the country than this—that while during the whole period of 107 years, from 1790 to 1897, there was an excess of exports over imports of only $383,028,497; there has been in the short three years of the present Republican Administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of $1,483,537,094.

And while the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted and in victory concluded a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of national aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled. It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American Government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action. Its armies were in the field and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors and to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To 10,000,000 of the human race there was given "a new birth of freedom," and to the American people a new and noble responsibility.

We indorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

In asking the American people to indorse this Republican record and to renew their commission to the Republican party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles, and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs. The prime essential of business prosperity is public confidence in the good sense of the government and in its ability to deal intelligently with each new problem of administration and legislation. That confidence the Democratic party has never earned. It is hopelessly inadequate, and the country's prosperity, when Democratic success at the polls is anounced, halts and ceases, in mere anticipation of Democratic blunders and failures.

We renew our allegiance to the principles of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress, by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured. We recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rate of interest, we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met, in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed and commerce enlarged.

The volume of money in circulation was never so great, per capita, as it is to-day. We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest operation of capital to meet new business conditions and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition and secure the rights of producers, laborers and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified and maintained. By protecting the home market competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better condition of life from those of any competing country

Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self-government and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them finally to enter the markets of the world. We favor the associated policy of reciprocity, so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce, in return for free foreign markets.

In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, and the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor and an effective system of labor insurance.

Our present dependence upon foreign shipping for nine-tenths of our foreign carrying is a great loss to the industry of this country. It is also a serious danger to our trade, for its sudden withdrawal in the event of European war would seriously cripple our expanding foreign commerce. The national defense and naval efficiency of this country, moreover, supply a compelling reason for legislation which will enable us to recover our former place among the trade carrying fleets of the world.

The nation owes a debt of profound gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who have fought its battles, and it is the Government's duty to provide for the survivors and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the country's wars. The pension laws, founded in this just sentiment, should be liberal and should be liberally administered and preference should be given wherever practicable with respect to employment in the public service to soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans.

We commend the policy of the Republican party in maintaining the efficiency of the Civil Service rules. The Administration has acted wisely in its efforts to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in those territories should be confined as far as practicable to their inhabitants.

It was the plain purpose of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution to prevent discrimination on acount of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of State governments whether by statutory or constitutional enactments to avoid the purpose of this amendment are revolutionary and should be condemned.

Public movements looking to a permanent improvement of the roads and highways of the country meet with our cordial approval and we recommend this subject to the earnest consideration of the people and of the legislatures of the several States.

We favor the extension of the rural free delivery service wherever the extension may be justified.

In further pursuance of the constant policy of the Republican party to provide free homes on the public domain we recommend adequate national legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for irrigation to the respective States and Territories.

We favor home rule for and the early admission to Statehood of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma.

The Dingley act amended to provide sufficient revenue for the conduct of the war has so well performed its work that it has been possible to reduce the war debt in the sum of $40,000,000. So ample are the Government's revenues and so great is the public confidence in the integrity of its obligations that its newly-funded 2 per cent. bonds sell at a premium.

The country is now justified in expecting and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about a reduction of the war taxes.

We favor the construction, ownership, control and protection of an Isthmian Canal by the Government of the United States. New markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our farm products. Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets especially in the Orient, and the Administration is warmly to be commended for its successful effort to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the open door in China.

In the interest of our expanding commerce, we recommend that Congress create a Department of Commerce and Industries, in the charge of a Secreteary with a seat in the cabinet.

The United States consular system should be reorganized under the supervision of this new department upon such a basis of appointment and tenure as will render it still more serviceable to the nation's increasing trade.

The American Government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril.

We congratulate the women of America upon their splendid record of public service in the volunteer aid associations and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns of our armies in the Eastern and Western Indies, and we appreciate their faithful co-operation in all works of education and industry.

President McKinley has conducted the foreign affairs of the United States with distinguished credit to the American people. In releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance for the government of Samoa his course is especially to be commended. By securing to our undivided control the most important island of the Samoan group and the best harbor in the Southern Pacific every American interest has been safeguarded.

We approve the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

We commend the part taken by our Government in the Peace Conference at the Hague. We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine.

The provisions of the Hague convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republic. While the American Government must continue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President and imposed upon us by the Hague treaty of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may be found, honorable alike to both parties, to terminate the strife between them.

In accepting by the treaty of Paris the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish war the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the Western Indies and in the Philippine Islands. That course created our responsibility before the world, and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order and for the establishment of good government and for the performance of international obligations.

Our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the Government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued people.

The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law. To Cuba, independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared and to the letter this pledge shall be performed.

The Republican party, upon its history and upon this declaration of its principles and policies, confidently invoke the considerate and approving judgment of the American people.

BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN.

Benjamin Ryan Tillman, Democrat, of Trenton, was born in Edgefield County, South Carolina, August 11, 1847; received an academic education under the instruction of George Galphin at Bethany, in the same county; quit school in July, 1864, to join the Confederate army, but was stricken with a severe illness, which caused the loss of his left eye and kept him an invalid for two years; followed farming as a pursuit and took no active part in politics till he began the agitation in 1886 for industrial and technical education which culminated in the establishment of the Clemson Agricultural and Mechanical College, at Calhoun's old home, Fort Hill; the demand for educational reform broadened into a demand for other changes in state affairs, and he was put forward by the farmers as a candidate for governor in 1890; after an exciting and heated canvass he received the nomination in the Democratic convention by a vote of 270 to 50 for his opponent, and was elected in November following; this was his first political office and he was re-elected in 1892 by an overwhelming vote; his term as governor was signalized by the passage of the dispensary law for the control of the liquor traffic by the state and by the establishment of another college, the Winthrop Normal and Industrial College for Women, at Rock Hill, an institution which bids fair to lead all similar schools in the South; entered the race for the Senate against General Butler and the two canvassed the state, county by county, with the result that Tillman was elected by the general assembly by a vote of 131 to 21 for Butler. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901.

Early in his Senatorial career, Mr. Tillman took rank as one of the most agressive, candid and fertile debaters in that body. He supplemented his floor duties with those of membership of the committees on Appropriation, Forest Reservations and Protection of Game, Interstate Commerce, Mines and Mining, Naval Affairs and Relations with Canada.

BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

LIFE OF WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

Nominee for President.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN is the fourth child of Silas L. Bryan, an attorney-at-law of Salem, Illinois, who died in 1880. William was born at Salem, March 19, 1860. His early education was acquired in the common schools of the town, and at the age of fifteen he entered Whipple Academy, at Jacksonville, Illinois. After two years of academic preparation he entered Illinois College at Jacksonville, where he graduated in 1881. He then entered the Union Law College of Chicago, and at the same time the law office of Senator Lyman Trumbull. He was admitted to the bar in 1883, and began practice at Jacksonville.

Meeting with success on account of both legal and rhetorical ability, he married Mary E. Baird, and remained in Jacksonville till 1887, when he moved to Lincoln, Nebraska, where he opened an office under the firm name of Talbot & Bryan. In less than a year and a half after his advent in Lincoln, he entered upon his brilliant political career as delegate to the Democratic State Convention at Omaha, May, 1888, where he laid the foundation of his State reputation by an anti-tariff speech.

The next year he was tendered by his party the nomination for Lieutenant Governor, which he declined, though he made more than fifty speeches during the campaign.

In 1890 he was nominated for Congress on the Democratic ticket, against Hon. W. J. Connell, Republican, and after a campaign into which he threw all his powers of persuasion and eloquence, he was elected by nearly 7,000 majority, the main issues being tariff-reform and Prohibition. On his appearance in the House of Representatives he was assigned by Speaker Crisp to a place on the Ways and Means Committee. In his maiden speech on tariff-reform he surprised friends and opponents by his eloquence and mastery of his subject, though he was but thirty-one years old, and the youngest member of Congress.

A second speech on the same subject clinched his reputation as an economic student and as an orator of the first rank. He was congratulated by both Democrats and Republicans. All through the 52d Congress he was one of the ablest spokesmen of his party and one of the most conspicuous figures in the House.

He stood for re-election to the 53d Congress in another district, the State having been re-apportioned. His Republican competitor was now Judge A. W. Field, of Lincoln. This was an even more bitter contest than that of 1890. The Democratic committee invited the Republicans to join in arranging a series of debates, and this invitation was accepted. Mr. Bryan engaged in eleven set debates which were received with much enthusiasm, and carried on an active canvass besides. The victory was claimed by both sides until the Friday following the election, when the official count gave Mr. Bryan a majority of 140 in a poll of 30,000 votes.

Mr. Bryan entered the 53d Congress more as a member of the free-silver forces than as a Democrat, and became one of the ablest lieutenants of Mr. Bland. He was re-appointed a member of the committee on Ways and Means and assisted in the preparation of the Wilson tariff bill, especially the clauses relating to the tax on incomes. On behalf of the committee, Mr. Bryan closed the debate on the income tax, replying to Mr. Cockran. During the discussion of the Wilson tariff, he upheld its provisions on the floor of the House.

His principal work of the term, however, was in connection with monetary legislation. His speech of August 16, 1893, against the repeal of the Sherman Silver Coinage Act, was one of the most remarkable ever heard in the House. For three hours he held the members of both parties and the occupants of the galleries spell-bound, and outdid in argument even Mr. Bland's effort of three days' before.

At the end of his second term, Mr. Bryan declined a renomination. In a short time he became editor-in-chief of the "World Herald" of Omaha, a journal devoted to advocacy of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and hostility to everything that partook of Clevelandism. He had senatorial ambitions which were blasted by the election of John M. Thurston to the Senate. During his retiracy, he continued his advocacy of free silver coinage by speech, and made many stumping tours in the West and South, always attracting large audiences and adding to his reputation as an orator.

When the Democratic National Convention met in Chicago on July 7, 1896, it was well known that a factional fight would be precipitated between the "free-silver coinage" and "sound money" wings of the party, and that upon its result might hang the party's future welfare, if not existence. The East was for "sound money," the West and South for "free-silver coinage." The ablest leaders of all sections were in the front as advocates of their respective doctrines. They came into the convention determined to fight to the last for what they believed to be cardinal principles of the party.

It transpired that the free-silver men had not only the advantage of numbers, but a moral advantage derived from the attitude of the gold men in 1892, when, in order to elect Mr. Cleveland, they had gone into the silver States and united with the Populists. They were, therefore, surrounded by fires of their own kindling.

From the very start of the convention, the silver men took high and bold ground. They organized it in their own way, and in defiance of traditional customs. A test of strength showed 556 silver men to 349 gold men. This triumph was hailed amid unprecedented excitement. The committee on contested seats decided, as a rule, in favor of silver delegations, thus increasing the strength of the silverites. A permanent organization was effected on July 8, by the selection of Senator Stephen B. White, of California, for chairman. In the case of contested seats from Michigan, enough silver men were seated to throw that State into the silver column. Gold and silver delegations were contesting for Nebraska, the latter led by Mr. Bryan. The National Committee decided to seat the gold men, but when the contest was referred to the Committee on Credentials, it reported in favor of the Bryan delegation by a unanimous vote, and the report was adopted in the convention. The gold delegation then retired by a march tune, and the silver delegation was admitted. These radical changes were brought about by a vote of 558 to 368, and they served to show the earnestness of the silver majority, as well as the fact that it was now sufficiently organized to remain coherent amid all the exciting turns of the convention.

Meanwhile a terrific battle was going on in the Committee on Resolutions. The silver men were determined that the platform should be a plain and unequivocal statement of their principles, while the gold representatives sought such modifications as would serve to stave off a party breach, and reconcile the country to the platform declarations. The result of this struggle was a majority and minority report on the platform, with an appeal to the Convention for final settlement.

When these reports were made, it meant a day of angry struggle in the convention. The silver men grew firmer in their attitude and more pronounced in their views. The gold men tried all the expedients of oratory and delay to accomplish something favorable to themselves but they were opposed on every hand by buttresses upon which they could make no impression. Signal and stinging as their repeated defeats had been, they were, henceforth, to be still more crushing and humiliating. The silver men meant to be complete masters of the Democratic party and its future destiny. They grew defiant in debate, and many of them assumed attitudes which called for rebuke from their own side.

This third day's session of the Convention (July 9) was pivotal and crucial. It witnessed the sullen departure from the deliberations of many of the gold delegates. It felt the distracting influence of presidential booms, the most imposing of which was in favor of Richard P. Bland, of Missouri, who had been for years the recognized champion of the free silver cause, and whose nomination was regarded as deserved and logical, if not inevitable. It heard the echoes of a battle more desperate than any ever before waged in a Democratic Convention, the memorable Convention of 1860, which sundered the party on the slavery issue, alone excepted.

Senator Jones, of Arkansas, read the majority report of the Committee on Platform. J. H. Wade, of Ohio, followed by reading the minority report. The issue was thus drawn in convention. Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, sprang to the rescue of the majority platform in a speech filled with fiery invective, and most ultra denunciation of the Cleveland administration. It was so partisan and sectional, that Senator Jones, of Arkansas, rose and gave a non-sectional turn to the discussion, by declaring that free silver coinage was national, and as a cause had adherents in every State.

Now came the turn of Senator Hill, of New York. By reason of his ability and prominence, he was accorded an anxious hearing, and it was known that his effort was to crown the action of the gold men. It was to be their final protest and expiring cry in the convention, and it was to remain practically unanswered till Mr. Bryan found in it a theme for that great forensic effort which carried the convention by storm and made him its nominee for President.

Mr. Hill was followed in equally eloquent and pathetic strains by Senator Vilas, of Wisconsin, and ex-Governor Russell, of Massachusetts. The climax of excitement was supposed to have been reached. But not so. The storm of demonstration that greeted Russell's peroration was quickly submerged by that which welcomed the appearance of William J. Bryan on the stage. He had been spoken of in a general way as a presidential possibility, but as yet no concerted movement had been made in his behalf. He had been frequently called for by the convention, but had preferred reserve to publicity. His time had now come. As he appeared more than half the convention was standing and the air was full of newspapers and hats. Four times the cheering seemed to have spent itself and each time rose again with a roll of an advancing wave. Bryan stood with a smile playing on his face and an uplifted arm waiting for silence. While he stood there waiting, hundreds had their first view of a man whose political life in Congress and afterward had been identified with the movement for free-silver.

He was in face and figure a Roman on the stage—the likeness of one stepped from the tragic stage. He had a clean-cut, firm mouth, a strong Roman nose and black hair brushed back from his forehead and falling over his collar in short curls. His appearance was that of a plain Westerner.

Even the attention given to Tillman and Hill did not equal the breathless eagerness with which the thousands peered forward to catch the first sentence of this young man whom many Westerners appraise as their foremost orator. They were not disappointed. He spoke as follows, nearly every sentence being received with ringing applause, and at times the approval being so boisterous and continuous as to interrupt his torrent of eloquence for several minutes:

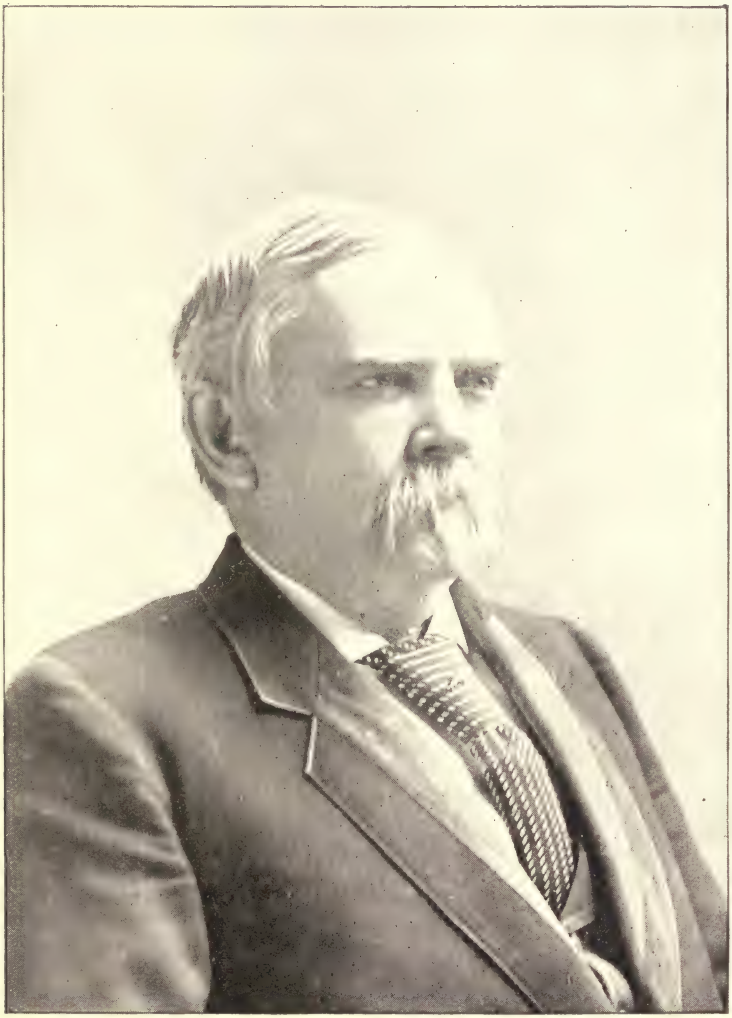
"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Convention:—I would be presumptuous indeed to present myself against the distinguished gentleman to whom you have listened, if this were but a measuring of ability, but this is not a contest among persons. The humblest citizen in all the land when called to arms in a righteous cause is stronger than all the whole hosts of error that they can bring. I come to speak to you in defence of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty, the cause of humanity.

"When this debate is concluded a motion will be made to lay upon the table the resolution offered in commendation of the Administration and also the resolution in condemnation of the Administration. I shall object to bringing this question to a level of persons. The individual is but an atom; he is born, he acts, he dies; but principles are eternal and this has been a contest of principle.

"Never before in the history of this country has there been witnessed such a contest as that through which we have passed. Never before in the history of American politics has

GEORGE GRAHAM VEST.

George Graham Vest was born at Frankfort, Ky., on December 6, 1830. He graduated at Centre College, Kentucky, in 1848, and in the law department of Transylvania University, at Lexington, Ky., in 1853. In the same year he moved to Missouri and began the practice of law in the central part of the State, arising to great prominence in his profession. Turning his attention to politics, he was elected a member of the Missouri House of Representatives in 1860. He favored the cause of secession, and gained distinction in Confederate councils, being elected to the Senate of the Confederacy. On the return of peace, he was elected to the United States Senate in 1879, to fill a vacancy caused by the death of Lewis V. Bogy, Democrat. He took his seat on March 18, 1879, and has been re-elected in 1885, 1890, 1897, his last term expiring on March 3, 1903. He thus ranks as one of the oldest Senators. Through his long senatorial career, Mr. Vest has been one of the ablest and most eloquent spokesmen of the cause of bimetallism, and by his influence has effected many important changes in currency legislation. His persistent energy, immense constructive ability, great power in debate, logical precision of statement, and invariable fairness, have served to win for him the admiration of friends and opponents. He animadverted on President Cleveland's failure to give to bimetallism that prominence it deserved in his messages and administrative course, and accepted the free silver plank of the Chicago platform as the timely presentation of an issue which should be fought out before the people. "I have," he said, "supported the free coinage of silver principally on the ground that I oppose all class legislation. I have never been able to see the justice of permitting a man who owns a gold mine to go to the mints, the common property of the people, and coin his gold without expense, and deny the same privilege to the owner of the silver mine. If it is proposed now to strike down silver as a money metal in this country, I distinctly state I shall be found in favor of bimetallism as established by the Constitution and the traditions of the American people."



GEORGE GRAHAM VEST.

JOHN WANAMAKER.

JOHN WANAMAKER.

John Wanamaker was born in Philadelphia, Pa., July 11, 1838. He early entered upon a mercantile career, and engaged in business for himself in 1861. Gradually evolved the system of the department store, and carried it to perfection in the cities of Philadelphia and New York, acquiring fortune and establishing for himself a world-wide mercantile fame. In 1858, he began mission work in his native city, and through his systematic plans and indefatigable labors, not to mention his generous pecuniary contributions, he founded and erected the Bethany Presbyterian Church in a poor and neglected part of the city, and organized a congregation which has grown to great numerical strength and wide-spread influence. Concomitantly he organized and personally directed the immense Sunday School connected with the church, which is unique in its government and appointments and a source of evangelizing influence in a wide urban section. He has been hardly less prominent in other benevolent and missionary fields, being one of the founders of the Christian Commission, whose work was so conspicuous and helpful during the Civil War. He has also been one of the most energetic and potential agents in the upbuilding of the Young Men's Christian Association, being president of thePhiladelphia Association from 1870 to 1883.

He was appointed to the position of Postmaster General in President Harrison's cabinet, and signalized his administration of the office by many needed reforms, and not a few innovations which have been perpetuated and become popular, among which may be mentioned the establishment of the system of "rural delivery." After his retirement from the Postmaster Generalship he became an aspirant for senatorial honors, and actively led a reform minority in his State, which he had the satisfaction of seeing grow to formidable proportions and embody the sentiments of advanced leaders and voters, under his tireless exertions in deliberative councils and eloquent pleas on the public platform.

a great issue been fought out as this issue has been by the voters themselves.

"On the 4th of March, 1895, a few Democrats, mostly members of Congress, issued an address to the Democrats of the nation asserting that the money question was the paramount issue of the hour; asserting also the right of allowing the Democratic party to control the position of the party on this issue; concluding with the request that all believers in free coinage of silver in the Democratic party should take charge of and control the policy of the Democratic party.

"Three months later, at Memphis, an organization was formed and the silver Democrats went forth openly and boldly and courageously proclaiming their belief and declaring that if successful they would crystallize in the platform the declaration which they had made; and then began the conflict with a zeal approaching the zeal which inspired the crusaders who followed Peter the Hermit. Our silver Democrats went forth from victory unto victory, until they are assembled now, not to discuss, not to debate, but to enter up the judgment rendered by them to the people of this country.

"In this contest brother has been arrayed against brother, and father against son. The warmest ties of love and acquaintance and association have been disregarded. Old leaders have been cast aside when they refused to give expression to the sentiments of those whom they would lead, and new leaders have sprung up to give direction to this cause of truth.

"Thus has the contest been waged, and we have assembled here under as binding and solemn instructions as were ever fastened upon the representatives of a people. We do not come as individuals. Why, as individuals we might have been glad to compliment the gentleman from New York, but we know that the people for whom we speak would never be willing to put him in a position where he could thwart the will of the Democratic party. I say it was not a question of persons, it was a question of principles, and it is not with gladness, my friends, that we find ourselves brought into conflict with those who are now arrayed on the other side. The gentleman who just preceded me (Governor Russell) spoke of the old State of Massachusetts. Let me assure him that not one person in all this convention entertains the least hostility to the people of the State of Massachusetts.

"But we stand here representing people who are the equals before the law of the largest citizens in the State of Massachusetts. When you come before us and tell us that we shall disturb your business interests we reply that you have disturbed our business interests by your course. We say to you that you have made too limited in its application the definition of business men. The man who is employed for wages is as much a business man as his employer.

"The attorney in a country town is as much a business man as the lawyer in the great metropolis. The merchant at a crossroads is as much a business man as the merchant of New York. The farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day, begins in the spring and toils all summer, and by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of this country creates wealth, is as much a business man as the man who goes upon the Board of Trade and bets upon the price of grain.

"The miners who go a thousand feet into the earth or climb 2,000 feet upon the cliffs and bring forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured into the channels of trade, are as much business men as the few financial magnates who in a back room corner the money of the world.

"We come to speak for this broader class of business men. Ah! My friends, we say not one word against those who live upon the Atlantic coast; but those hardy pioneers who braved all dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose—those pioneers away out there, rearing their children near nature's heart where they can mingle their voices with the voices of the birds—out there where they have erected school houses for the education of their young, and churches where they praise their Creator, and cemeteries where sleep the ashes of their dead—are as deserving of the consideration of this party as any people in this country.

"We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded, and they have mocked and our calamity came.

"We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them.

"The gentleman from Wisconsin has said that he feared a Robespierre. My friends, in this land of the free, we need fear no tyrant who will spring up from among the people. What we need is an Andrew Jackson to stand as Jackson stood the encroachments of aggrandizement of wealth. They tell us that this platform was made to catch votes. We reply to them that changing conditions make no issues; that the principles upon which rest Democracy are as everlasting as the hills, but that they must be applied to new conditions as they arise.

"Conditions have arisen and we are attempting to meet those conditions. They tell us that the income tax ought not to be brought in here; that it is a new idea. They criticise us for our criticisms of the Supreme Court of the United States. My friends, we have not criticised. We have simply called attention to what you know. If you want criticisms, read the dissenting opinion of the court. That will give you criticisms.

"They say we passed an unconstitutional bill. I deny it. The income tax was not unconstitutional when it was passed. It was not unconstitutional when it went before the Supreme Court for the first time. It did not become unconstitutional until one Judge changed his mind, and we cannot be expected to know when a Judge will change his mind.

"The income tax is a just law. It simply intends to put the burden of Government justly upon the backs of the people. I am in favor of an income tax.

"When I find a man who is not willing to pay his share of the burden of the Government which protects him, I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a Government like ours. He says that we are opposing the national bank currency. It is true. If you will read what Thomas Benton said you will find that he said that in searching history he could find but one parallel to Andrew Jackson. That was Cicero, who destroyed the conspiracy of Cataline and saved Rome. He did for Rome what Jackson did when he destroyed the bank conspiracy and saved America.

"We say that in our platform that we believe that the right to coin money and issue money is a function of the Government. We believe it. We believe it is a part of sovereignty and can no more with safety be delegated to private individuals than we could afford to delegate to private individuals the power to make penal statutes or levy laws for taxation. Mr. Jefferson, who was once regarded as good Democratic authority, seems to have a different opinion from the gentlemen who have addressed us on the part of the minority. Those who are opposed to the proposition tell us that the issue of paper money is a function of the bank and that the

Government ought to go out of the banking business.

"I stand with Jefferson rather than with them and tell them, as he did, that the issue of money is a function of the Government and that the banks ought to go out of the Government business. They complain about that plank which declares against the life tenure in office. They have tried to strain it to mean that which it does not mean. What we oppose in that plank is the life tenure that is being built up at Washington, which excludes from party representation in the benefits the humbler members of our society.

"Let me call the attention to two or three great things. The gentleman from New York says that he will propose an amendment providing that this change in these laws shall not affect contracts already made. Let me remind him that there is no intention of affecting those contracts which according to the present laws are made payable in gold

"But if he means to say that we cannot change our monetary system without protecting those who have loaned money before the change was made, I want to ask him where, in law or in morals, he can find authority for not protecting the debtors when the act of 1873 was passed, but not insist that we must protect the creditors.

"He says he also wants to amend this law and provide that if we fail to maintain a parity within a year that we will then suspend the coinage of silver. We reply that when we advocate a thing which we believe will be successful we are not compelled to raise a doubt as to our own sincerity by trying to show what we will do if we can.

"I ask him if he will apply his logic to us, why he does not apply it to himself. He says that he wants this country to try to secure an international agreement. Why doesn't he tell us what he is going to do if they fail to secure an international agreement?

"There is more reason for him to do that than for us to fail to maintain the parity. They have tried for thirty years to secure an international agreement, and those who are waiting for it most impatiently don't want it at all.

"Now, my friends, let me come to the great paramount issue. If they ask here why is it we say more on the money question than we say upon the tariff question, I reply that if protection has slain its thousands the gold standard has slain its tens of thousands. If they ask us why we didn't embody all these things in our platform which we believe, we reply to them that when we have restored the money of the Constitution, all other necessary reforms will be possible, and that until that is done there is no reform that can be accomplished.

"Why is it that within three months such a change has come over the sentiments of this country? Three months ago, when it was confidently asserted that those who believed in the gold standard would frame our platform and nominate our candidate, even the advocates of the gold standard did not think that we could elect a President; but they had good reason for the suspicion because there is scarcely a State here to-day asking for the gold standard that is not within the absolute control of the Republican party.

"But note the change. Mr. McKinley was nominated at St. Louis upon a platform that declared for the maintenance of the gold standard until it should be changed into bimetallism by an international agreement. Mr. McKinley was the most popular man among the Republican party, and everybody three months ago in the Republican party prophesied his election. How is it to-day? Why that man who used to boast that he looked like Napoleon—that man shudders to-day when he thinks that he was nominated on the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo.

"Not only that, but as he listens, he can hear with ever increasing distinctness the sound of the waves as they beat upon the lonely shores of St. Helena. Why this change? Ah, my friends, it is evident to every one who will look at the matter. It is no private character, however pure; personal popularity, however great, that can protect from the avenging wrath of an indignant people the man who will neither declare that he is in favor of foisting the gold standard upon the people or who is willing to surrender the right of self-government and place legislative control in the hands of foreign potentates and powers.

"We go forth confident that we shall win. Why? Because upon the paramount issue in this campaign there is not a spot of ground upon which the enemy will dare to challenge battle. Why, if they tell us that the gold standard is a good thing, we point to their platform and tell them that their platform pledges the party to get rid of a gold standard and substitute bimetallism.

"If the gold standard is a good thing why try to get rid of it? If the gold standard, and I might call your attention to the fact that some of the very people who are in this convention to-day and who tell you that we ought to declare in favor of the international bimetallism, and thereby declare that the gold standard is wrong, and that the principle of bimetallism is better, these very people four months ago were open and avowed advocates of the gold standard and telling us that we could not legislate two metals together even with all the world.

"I want to suggest this truth, that if the gold standard is a good thing we ought to declare in favor of its retention and not in favor of abandoning it; and if the gold standard is a bad thing, why should we wait until some other nations are willing to help us to let go.

"Here is the line of battle. We care not upon which issue they force the fight. We are prepared to meet them on either issue or on both. If they tell us that the gold standard is the standard of civilization, we reply to them that this, the most enlightened of all the nations of the earth, has never declared for a gold standard, and both the parties this year are declaring against it.

"If the gold standard is the standard of civilization, why, my friends, should we not have it? So if they come to meet us on that, we can present the history of our nation. More than that, we can tell them this, that they will search the pages of history in vain to find a single instance in which the common people of any land have ever declared themselves in favor of a gold standard.

"They can find where the holders of fixed investments have. Mr. Carlisle said in 1878 that this was a struggle between the idle holders of idle capital and the struggling masses who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country, and my friends, it is simply a question that we shall decide upon which side shall the Democratic party fight? Upon the side of the idle holders of idle capital, or upon the side of the struggling masses?

"That is the question that the party must answer first, and then it must be answered by each individual hereafter. The sympathies of the Democratic party as described by the platform are on the side of the struggling masses who have ever been the foundation of the Democratic party.

"There are two ideas of Government. There are those who believe that if you just legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous that their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous their prosperity will find its way up through every class and rest upon it.

"If you come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard, I tell you that the great cities rest upon these broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic. But destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in this country.

"My friends, we shall declare that this nation is able to legislate for its own people on every question without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth, and upon that issue we expect to carry every single State in the Union.

"I shall not slander the fair State of Massachusetts nor the State of New York by saying that when its citizens are confronted with the proposition, Is this nation able to attend to its own business?—I will not slander either one by saying that the people of those States will declare our helpless impotency as a nation to attend to our own business.

"It is the issue of 1776 over again. Our ancestors, then but 3,000,000, had the courage to declare their political independence of every other nation upon earth. Shall we, their descendants, when we have grown to 70,000,000, declare that we are less independent than our forefathers?

"No, my friends, it will never be the judgment of the people. Therefore, we care not upon what lines the battle is fought. If they say bimetallism is good, but we cannot have it till some nations help us, we reply that instead of having a gold standard because England has, we shall restore bimetallism and then let England have bimetallism because the United States has.

"If they dare to come out and in the open defend the gold standard as a good thing, we shall fight them to the uttermost, having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world. Having behind us the commercial interests and the laboring interests and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them you shall not press down upon the brow of labor the crown of thorns. You shall not crucify man on a cross of gold."

The conclusion of Mr. Bryan's speech was marked by the most enthusiastic demonstration of the convention up to that time. The whole convention sprang to its feet and 20,000 throats roared, while twice 20,000 arms waved frantically. Handkerchiefs and flags flew wildly. Hats were hurled aloft. Umbrellas were waved. Men shouted like maniacs. From every quarter of the hall came the hoarse roar.

Suddenly a member of the Texas delegation uprooted the banner of the Lone Star State, and carried it to where stood the standard of Nebraska. Above the roar rose piercing shrieks, which sounded like a volley of siege guns above the continuous rattle of 10,000 small arms. Other delegates grasped the staffs of their delegations and pushed their way to the Nebraska delegation.

Soon the staffs of two-thirds of the States were grouped about the purple standard of Bryan's State. Only the standards of Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, Maine, Minnesota, New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Vermont, South Dakota, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania were left standing when the demonstration was at its height.

Meantime the awful roar from the galleries continued. The band played, but the music could not be heard above the Niagara-like tumult of sound. Like an angry ocean it swept on, breaking at last, receding, falling back, only to rise again. Delegates fairly jumped for joy. Some of them took possession of the aisles and marched. Suddenly the State standards clustered at Nebraska were borne away in single file through the aisles of the pit.

After five minutes of this turbulence, the crowd sank back exhausted. When all were seated, Delegate Saulsbury, of Delaware, climbed on to his chair. He and his three silver colleagues in that State gave three cheers for Bryan, which was answered with a shout from the gallery of "What's the matter with Bryan for President?"

The transaction of business was started again by Senator Hill of New York, but not without considerable difficulty.

The "ayes" on the question were not loud, but the "noes" gave a great shout. Whereupon, Senator Hill, with uplifted hand, demanded the call of States.

The announcement of the vote, "ayes" 626, "noes" 303, gave the silver men grounds for applause, because it was the first test vote directly on the financial question, and showed six more than the necessary two-thirds to nominate.

Senator Hill offered other amendments to the platform which were voted down by the same majority. A vote was then taken on the platform submitted by a majority of the Committee on Resolutions, and it was adopted by 628 for and 301 against.

The great battle was over, the party commitment decisively made. The laurels of the day rested on the head of the "Boy Orator of the Platte," and henceforth he was to rank with the most formidable of the aspirants for Presidential honors. There was destiny in his superb oratorical effort.

The evening session of July 9 was devoted to placing candidates in nomination. Mr. Bland was eloquently nominated by Senator Vest, Mr. Matthews by Senator Turpie, Mr. Boies by Senator White. Then Georgia was called, Colonel H. T. Lewis rose, and after a few eloquent encomiums submitted the name of William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, as the one for whom the State would vote. "He needs no speech to recommend him," said Colonel Lewis.

The words exploded another mine of the same fiery sort which the Nebraskan had enflamed with his own oratory a few hours before. Three or four State delegations were on their chairs leading the cheer with the lungs of scattering delegates from other States abetting them. Nebraska seemed to furnish the galleries with a hero, for they were making the great chorus of the noise. The blue banner with the placard, "William J. Bryan Club, of Nebraska; 16 to 1," emblazoned in silver letters was lifted above Nebraska's seats.

The standards of Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana, Michigan and South Dakota rallied around the blue and silver emblem, and then the standard bearers started a march around the pit.

When order was partially restored, T. F. Klutz, of North Carolina, seconded the nomination of William J. Bryan, and in this he was followed by G. F. Williams of Massachusetts, and Thomas Kernan of Louisiana.

The work of balloting for a nominee was postponed till Friday, July 10th. The indications now all pointed to Bryan though several other candidates were to be placed in the field. It was to be as exciting a day as the previous one, though without its acerbities. A melancholy and painful part of the proceedings was the declination of so many delegates to join in them, through disgust at the platform and their treatment by the majority. New York and New Jersey delegates remained passive in their seats, and Connecticut, Wisconsin, Delaware, Michigan and Rhode Island cast only partial or scattering votes.

The first ballot showed that the heroes in the contest were Bland and Bryan, and that a clarification of the situation could hardly be other than in favor of Bryan, for the Bland strength must have its limit, while that of Bryan could have none short of nomination. The ballots were taken in quick order and with the following results:

FIRST BALLOT.

Bland	237
Byran	137
All others, and not voting	377

SECOND BALLOT.

Bland	281
Bryan	197
All others, and not voting	292

THIRD BALLOT.

Bland	291
Bryan	219
All others, and not voting	258

FOURTH BALLOT.

Bland	241
Bryan	280
All others, and not voting	245

FIFTH BALLOT.

Bryan	528
All others, and not voting	148

Mr. Bryan received the announcement of his nomination with all the composure and calmness of a man who had been used to such things during a longer life than his. His handsome black eyes were perhaps slightly more dilated than ordinarily when the bulletin carrying the nomination message was handed to him, but otherwise he manifested no change of countenance or manner. He was at the time sitting chatting with two newspaper friends in his parlor at the Clifton House.

"If," said he, "this is true, I want to do that which I have for some time had in contemplation in this emergency." He then turned to the parlor table, and with a lead pencil wrote on a scrap of soft paper supplied by one of his newspaper visitors, the following:

To the American People:—In order that I may have no ambition but to discharge faithfully the duties of the office, I desire to announce that, if elected President, I shall under no circumstances be a candidate for re-election.

W. J. BRYAN.

During the evening a public reception was arranged for him at his hotel, at which he sounded the keynote of his campaign in the following vigorous language:

"There shall be no signs of 'Keep off the grass' when you come around, boys," he began good naturedly to the jostling thousands on the street. Then he asked: "Is this the Bland Club?" A yell in the affirmative answered his inquiry.

"Then I want to say to the friends of Bland that if the Convention had chosen as their nominee the man whose name is inscribed on your banners he would have no more loyal supporter than I. The fact that he was not chosen cannot be taken as the slightest reflection upon his great ability. No man more deserves of the Convention its love, its honor and its confidence than Richard P. Bland."

Mr. Bryan's nomination drew a variety of comment from his party. The silver men regarded it as eminently fitting, and as calculated to lead to certain victory. The gold men did not withhold their admiration for his private worth and great forensic ability, but they bitterly denounced the platform which had been adopted, and expressed in unmeasured terms their hostility to the principles therein incorporated. They regarded them as un-Democratic and revolutionary, and as impossible for support. This, however, had evidently been anticipated and discounted, for Mr. Bryan took the optimistic view that as soon as the passions of the hour had cooled the full party strength would rally to his support. In this he was encouraged by the number and character of the congratulations that poured in upon him by telegraph and letter from men of all factions and parties, without regard to geographic limits.

Space does not permit the printing of these congratulations, nor a setting forth of the character of the criticisms mentioned in connection with the platform. One characteristic of the latter, however, is consonant with impartial history, and that was the confession that Democratic leaders were not blameless for the situation with which they found themselves confronted. For the three Cleveland campaigns they had sowed dragon's teeth, in sending speakers to the country to tell the people that they were being ground down by oppressive laws which protected monopolies and which made the rich richer and the poor poorer. Cleveland himself it was said made this mistake, never losing an opportunity to say to the masses that they were being frightfully burdened by unjust taxation. These campaign arguments and plausible and ponderous pleas of Cleveland created much discontent, and added to that which already existed, but the great mistake, as admitted by some of those who were in part responsible for it, was that which was made in 1892.

After Mr. Bryan's departure from Chicago, and on his way home to Lincoln, he visited Salem, his birthplace. The journey was a continuous series of ovations, hardly less enthusiastic than those that awaited him at Salem, and again on his arrival at Lincoln, where the populace turned out irrespective of party to proclaim their satisfaction over his nomination. These occasions gave him opportunity for eloquent and stirring speeches, in which he fully sustained the reputation for oratory he had so splendidly confirmed in the Convention and before the party that had honored him with the nomination for President.

The Chicago Convention nominated Hon. Arthur Sewall, of Maine, as the Democratic nominee for Vice-President. On July 22, 1896, the National Silver Party Convention met at St. Louis, and after adopting a typical platform, selected Bryan & Sewall as its nominees for President and Vice-President. On the same date and at the same place the Populist Convention met and nominated Mr. Bryan for President and Hon. Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for Vice-President. This made what was called "The Triple Demand for Financial Independence," and the campaign was started under the lead of three National Committees.

Mr. Bryan began his bold and unique campaign almost immediately by an invasion of "the enemy's country," that is by visiting New York City, August 8, for the purpose of arousing the enthusiasm of his friends and mollifying hostile sentiment. His journey was an ovation, and gave him fine opportunity for those station receptions and platform addresses which afterwards constituted so important a factor in his campaigning. He delivered his New York speech in Madison Square Garden to an immense audience. It was a response to the Committee's letter of notification of his nomination, and of course embodied a full review of his personal and party sentiments. It fell under the severe criticism of the conservative Democratic press and membership, and was by no means as auspicious an opening of the campaign as had been hoped for.

Mr. Bryan's return journey also consisted of station receptions and platform speeches, with longer and more deliberate addresses at principal cities. The populace, without regard to party, was always anxious to see him, and to hear his masterly eloquence. But with all his popularity and magnetism he could not allay that opposition to his principles and platform which so roundly favored free silver coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1, and other measures claimed to be of socialistic and revolutionary color. The gold Democrats bolted, and set up a separate ticket, headed by Hon. John M. Palmer, of Illinois, and Gen. Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky.

In his letters accepting the nominations of the three parties that had honored him, Mr. Bryan had as many separate opportunities for deliberate presentation of his political views, and in these letters he was as able and logical as in his speeches.

His campaign now took the form of regular itineraries by rail, requiring long distance journeys with frequent stoppages, receptions and speeches, implying an earnestness and enthusiasm in the candidate never before witnessed, yet entailing a labor and exhaustion which none but the sturdiest physique could have stood up against. He became in an oratorical and spectacular sense the entire campaign, and his presence and name assured an audience in the most indifferent sections. These itineraries practically covered the entire country east of the Rocky mountains, and were continued to election day in November.

Mr. Bryan had done herculean work for his party and victory, but victory had escaped him. On the announcement of his defeat he telegraphed Mr. McKinley as follows: "Senator Jones has just informed me that the returns indicate your election. I hasten to extend my congratulations. We have submitted the issue to the American people and their will is law." W. J. BRYAN.

Of the popular vote, Mr. Bryan polled 6,511,073, as against 7,107,822 for William McKinley. The vote in the electoral college stood: McKinley, 271; Bryan, 176. His party vote fell short in the East, and he lost several border States which had been Democratic, but he carried several of the Western States which had usually gone Republican.

Though relegated to private life by defeat, Mr. Bryan could find pleasure only in industrious activity. He indulged in authorship and wrote an interesting and popular work, giving the history of his public life, his campaigns and the events accompanying the promulgation of his doctrines. He prepared and delivered several instructive lectures, and proved ever ready to respond at political meetings when his favorite cause was an issue. In the spring of 1900 he made an extended tour of the Pacific coast, during which he delivered a series of political addresses to large audiences in the principal cities.

The defeat of 1896 had not in the least affected Mr. Bryan's belief in the future triumph of his doctrines. He was, if anything, more fully imbued with faith in his cause, and was in daily preparation for a renewal of his battle in 1900, and before the high-court of the people. Nor did his defeat discourage his party or weaken its allegiance to its leader. On the contrary he seemed to grow continually as a favorite, and as the only logical personage equal to the task of directing party councils, enunciating inherent and winning principles, and in the end assuming full leadership as a presidential candidate a second time. The confession was universal that he was stronger than his party, on account of his sterling adhesion to principle, his indefatigability, and his tremendous personality.

During the earlier months of 1900, as the different States held their conventions, the sentiment in favor of making him the Democratic standard-bearer for the presidency became incorporated directly or indirectly in every local platform, and even in those States which fought shy of an endorsement of the 16 to 1 policy, or refused to instruct their delegates in his favor, there was silent acquiescence in the fact that his name would prove to be the magical and all conquering one in the National Convention. This sentiment continued to gather momentum, notwithstanding the diversions occasioned by the mention of other presidential possibilities, such as that of Admiral Dewey.

So party matters shaped in his favor along all lines, and they were given special impetus by the Populist Convention which assembled at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, on May 9, 1900. This convention unanimously nominated him for the presidency, thus securing to him the support of an element representing approximately 2,000,000 votes, inclusive of the Silver Republican strength which was propitiated by the nomination of Hon. Charles A. Towne for the Vice-Presidency.

When the Democratic National Convention met at Kansas City, July 4, 1900, the situation as to the presidential nominee was without question or doubt. No other name than Bryan's was broached, and every mention of him awakened intense enthusiasm. Controversy arose between the radical and conservative elements relative to the propriety of re-inserting the 16 to 1 silver clause in the platform, but, though the conservative element seemed to be far the strongest in the Committee on Resolutions, and though Mr. Bryan sided with an apparent minority of the committee in their effort to insert the 16 to 1 clause, his position as to the logical and only nominee by the convention remained unaffected. Indeed, such was the respect paid to his name that the Committee on

Resolutions finally agreed to abandon all controversy over disputed clauses in the platform, and to re-affirm the silver clause in accordance with Mr. Bryan's wishes. The platform, including this clause, was afterwards unanimously adopted by the convention. Nor did the controversy as to a vice-presidential nominee affect, in the least, the unanimity of sentiment in his favor.

It is trite history to say that, under these auspices, the convention was organized in his interest, by the selection of Governor Charles F. Thomas, of Colorado, as temporary chairman, who accepted the honor in an able review of the political situation from a party standpoint. Hon. John B. Richardson, member of Congress from Tennessee, was made permanent chairman. His acceptance was signalized by an address containing 16 to 1 arguments in favor of the principles of the party and in denunciation of Republicanism. His peroration ran thus:

"It is apparent, therefore, to all that in this supreme exigency of the Republic a demand goes forth for a man who stands like a mighty rock in the desert—a man who, knowing the right, will dare do the right; a man who is unsurpassed as a citizen, unequalled as an orator, courageous as a soldier, conspicuous in every element that constitutes the typical and the true American, William J. Bryan, of Nebraska."

On July 5, Mr. Bryan's name was placed in nomination by his friend, W. D. Oldham, of Nebraska, in an eloquent address. It was ably and eulogistically seconded by Judge E. B. Perkins, of Texas, ex-Senator Stephen A. White, of California, Judge Thompson, of Illinois, ex-Senator Hill, of New York, and ex-Governor Pattison, of Pennsylvania. Perhaps ex-Senator Hill's address was the most eulogistic and able of all, though as leader of the conservative element he had been disappointed in his efforts to keep the 16 to 1 clause out of the platform, if not in his aspirations to be named as the vice-presidential nominee. When the roll call of States was made, Mr. Bryan received the full vote of every delegation, and thus became the unanimous choice of the convention as presidential nominee. The result was hailed with acclammatory shouts by delegates and spectators, and met with wide and warm approval in the strictly party press. Mr. Bryan's running-mate on the ticket was chosen on July 6, in the person of Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, thus completing a ticket which in the campaign was to measure strength with that chosen at Philadelphia two weeks before. Of Mr. Bryan as a leader, the language of ex-Senator Hill before the convention is highly quotable, especially when his strongly conservative and almost antagonistic attitude as State delegate from New York is considered. Said he:

"William J. Bryan does not belong to Nebraska alone; he belongs to the North and South and to the East and to the West—he belongs to the whole country at large. It is a nomination already made in the hearts and affections of the American people.

"From the closing of the polls four years ago until this very hour there never was a possibility of any other nomination being made. He is a gentleman that needs no introduction to this audience nor to the American people. Nebraska is proud of him, but New York is proud of him also. For four years he has upheld the banner of Democracy in almost every State in the Union. His voice has been heard not only in behalf of our principles, but in behalf of the cause of the common people, in behalf of the workingmen, in behalf of humanity. He will have the support of his party—a united party.

"He is strong, strong with the masses, strong with the farmers, strong with the artisan—stronger even than his own cause.

"His integrity has never been questioned during all the time that he has been under the gaze of the American people. His statesmanship has been exhibited in the halls of Congress. No others have served during such a brief period that made such an impression upon the minds and hearts and conscience of the American people. The cause he represents is peculiarly the cause of the people."

Equally the tribute of his friend and fellow Nebraskan, Mr. W. D. Oldham, as paid in his nominating speech at Kansas City, becomes a brief, but brilliant chapter in Mr. Bryan's civic and political career. Said he

"More than a hundred years ago the Continental Congress of America adopted a declaration which had been drafted by the founder of the Democratic party, and the joyous tones of the old Liberty Bell, which greeted the act, announced to a waiting world that a nation had been born.

"Much of the history of this Republic shall be either made or marred by the action of this convention.

"There is no greater honor reserved for a citizen of these United States than to become the standard-bearer of the Democratic party.

"We must seek a leader whose public and private life most nearly exemplifies his party's highest ideals; who stands unqualifiedly pledged to every issue we declare, who will carry the standard we place in his hands, even as the Black Douglas carried the sacred casket that enclosed the heart of Bruce.

"He must not declare for free trade with Porto Rico, and then at the persuasive suggestion of the Sugar and Tobacco Trust sign a bill for a tariff on the products of that island.

"He must not denounce a policy as one of 'criminal aggression,' and then at the demand of a power behind the throne pursue the policy he has so denounced.

"He must not, while professing opposition to combines and conspiracies against trade, send his emissaries to the trust barons' castles to beg, like Lazarus at Dives' gates, for subscriptions to his campaign. He must not lend the moral support of his administration to a monarchy in its efforts to destroy a republic. But he must ever sympathize with a people struggling for the right of self-government.

"Instead of the Republican policy of monometallism, he must offer the free and unlimited coinage of the money metals of the Constitution, the gold that polished the winged sandals of Hermes, and the silver that glitters in the brow of Diana.

"Instead of a panic-breeding, credit currency, controlled by the bank trust, he must offer Goverment paper controlled by the people.

"He must be able to distinguish between Democratic expansion and Republican imperialism. The first is a natural growth by the addition of contiguous American territory, into every foot of which is carried the Constitution, the flag and the decalogue, and over the shoulders of every inhabitant of the added territory is thrown a purple robe of sovereign citizenship.

"How different this from the bandit policy of the Republican imperialism, with its standing army and bayonet rule of conquered provinces; its government of sullen subjects against their will, by force and fraud.

"Democratic skies are tinged with a rosier hue to-day than when we met in convention four years ago.

"While discord with her flaming torch confused the counsels there, from out the Sunset Realms a champion came and bade defiance to the oncoming host. With the strength of youth and the wisdom of age, with knightly mien and matchless speech, he towered above his peers, and all who saw him then with one accord did hail him 'chief' and gave our party's banner to his hand. Slowly despair gave way to hope; confidence took the place where to-morrow's fear had been; the broken, shattered columns formed again, and behind him singing came 6,500,000 valiant men to that unequal fight.

"And the story of how well he fought, how fearlessly he fell and how dearly the enemy's victory was bought, has all gone out into history now.

"When the alarms of a war for humanity roused the heroic spirit of our land he offered his sword to his country's cause on the day that war was declared.

"When later he saw the Administration departing from the ancient landmarks of our institutions, in its enchanted dream of empire and militarism, he was the first to raise a warning voice, and, resigning his commission on the day the treaty of peace was signed, he threw himself into the contest for the rescue of the Republic.

"Already worthy allies differing from us rather in name than faith have shouted for our gallant leader again, and every State and Territory has instructed its delegates to this convention to vote for him here. So it only remains for Nebraska to pronounce the name that has been thundered forth from the foot of Bunker Hill and echoed back from Sierra's sunset slope, and that reverberates among the pine-clad, snow-capped hills of the North, and rises up from the slumbering flower-scented savannahs of the South; and that name is the name of William Jennings Bryan, her best loved son."

FRANCIS E. WARREN.

Francis E. Warren, Republican, of Cheynne, Wyo., was born in Hinsdale, Mass., June 20, 1844; received a common school and academic education; enlisted in 1862 in the Forty-ninth Massachusetts Regiment, and served as private and non-commissioned officer in that regiment till it was mustered out of the service; was afterwards captain in the Massachusetts militia; engaged in farming and stock raising in Massachusetts till early in 1868, when he removed to Wyoming (then a part of Dakota); is at present engaged in mercantile, live stock and lighting business; was president of the council, Wyoming Legislature, in 1873, and member of the council in 1884; was mayor of Cheyenne, and served three terms as treasurer of Wyoming; was a delegate to the National Republican Convention at Chicago in 1888; was appointed Governor of Wyoming by President Arthur and removed by President Cleveland; was again appointed Governor of Wyoming by President Harrison and served till the Territory was admitted as a State, when he was elected Governor; was elected to the United States Senate, November 18, 1890, took his seat December 1, 1890, and served until the expiration of term, March 3, 1893; was re-elected January 23, 1895. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901. Mr. Warren served in the Senate as chairman of the committee on Claims, and as member of the committees on Agriculture and Forestry, Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, Military Affairs, Public Buildings and Grounds, Industrial Expositions, and Appropriations.

FRANCIS E. WARREN.

ADLAI EWING STEVENSON.

LIFE OF ADLAI E. STEVENSON.

Nominee for Vice-President.

HON. ADLAI E. STEVENSON, the Democratic nominee for Vice-President on the ticket with William J. Bryan, was born in Christian county, Kentucky, October 23, 1835. His ancestry settled at a very early period of Colonial history in North Carolina, and there rose to distinction, one of them being a signer of the celebrated Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

His parents sought fortune in the West and moved to Kentucky, settling in Christian county. They were a plain, sturdy, well-to-do people who brought along with them the convictions that had rendered the name famous for generations, and which were to give character and fame to their offspring.

Young Stevenson received his preliminary education in the common schools of his native county. He was a youth of more than ordinary promise, being industrious, bright and acquisitive to a degree that found him fitted for higher studies at an early age.

In 1852 his parents moved to Bloomington, Illinois, where young Stevenson entered the Wesleyan University and went through a course of study preparatory for college. He then entered Centre College at Danville, Kentucky, and completed his education. He stood well in his classes, and was a favorite with both fellows and professors. Among his classmates were Senator J. C. S. Blackburn, Governor McCreary, of Kentucky, and others who afterwards distinguished themselves at the bar and in public life.

After graduating he began the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1858. He began practice in Metamora, Woodford county, Illinois, and remained there till 1868, a period of ten years. He soon found himself in the enjoyment of a lucrative practice and in the midst of a wide and encouraging popularity. As a recognition of his character and talent he received the appointment of Master in Chancery of the Circuit Court, which position he occupied for a period of four years. He was then chosen District Attorney, which office he held for four years, and which he administered with ability and fidelity.

During these years he became identified with politics, and such had been the character of his administrations of office and such his growth in popular estimation that the people of his district selected him as a Presidential Elector in 1864. He entered the campaign for General McClellan with all the ardor of youth and all the intensity of deep conviction, and proved himself one of the ablest of campaignists. His Democracy was of uncompromising quality and he gained a deep place in the affections of his party. His industry was of the most energetic and persevering type, and in his stumping tour of the State he visited nearly every county.

At the expiration of his term as District Attorney in 1868 he moved to Bloomington, Ill., where he formed a law partnership with his cousin, J. S. Ewing, which connection is retained to date. This firm came into the enjoyment of an extensive law practice, and took rank with the first in the State. The cases which came under its control were of great magnitude, and not a few of them proved to be of State and national importance. Mr. Stevenson enjoyed a reputation as a lawyer which any practitioner might envy. He was recognized as able in every branch of law, as indefatigable in the preparation and prosecution of cases, and as devoted to the interests of his clients. He was an eloquent pleader, and commanded the respect of both court and jury.

All the while he kept up his interest in politics and continually enlarged his influence with the masses of his party. His traits of fairness and frankness, and of unswerving devotion to his political principles, as well as of adhesion to the methods which insure party success, won for him a strength and popularity which augured well for his future standing in party councils.

When quite young he married Miss Lettie Green, the handsome and accomplished daughter of President Green, of Centre College at Danville, Ky., a profound scholar, and a minister of high standing.

In 1874 Mr. Stevenson was honored by his party with the nomination for Congress in the Bloomington District. Such a nomination meant the leadership of a forlorn hope, for the district was counted as safely Republican by a majority of three thousand. The situation was especially desperate at that time, for his opponent was General McNulta, who was regarded as one of the best stumpers and debaters in the State, and who was strong with his party. But Stevenson plunged into the canvass with an ardor and persistency characteristic of him. He fought every inch of ground with bravery and ability, and made one of the hottest and most interesting canvasses of modern times. If a winner, it would be a surprising and glorious victory. If defeated, he would go down with his flag flying and with the admiration of friend and foe for his gallant efforts. This campaign showed pre-

EDGAR WEEKS.

Edgar Weeks, Republican, of Mount Clemens, Macomb County, Mich., was born at Mount Clemens, August 3, 1839; received his education in the public schools of Mount Clemens; learned the trade of a printer and followed that business until about 18 years of age, when he began the study of law in the office of Eldredge & Hubbard, at Mount Clemens, and was admitted to the bar in January, 1861; at the outbreak of the Civil War enlisted in Company B of the Fifth Michigan Volunteer Infantry, June 19, 1861, and was made first sergeant of the company; in 1862 was promoted to first lieutenant and adjutant of the Twenty-second Michigan Volunteer Infantry (Col. Moses Wisner, ex-Governor of the State); in 1863 was promoted to be a captain in the same regiment; in December of that year, on account of injuries received in the service, was mustered out. During his service he participated in the army movements in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and in 1863 was appointed assistant inspector-general of the Third Brigade, Second Division, Reserve Corps, Army of the Cumberland, under Gen. Gordon Granger, and participated in the movements from Nashville to Chattanooga until after the battle of Chickamauga; on returning to civil life first became one of the proprietors of a Republican newspaper, of which he was editor; in 1866 resumed the practice of law at Mount Clemens, which he has pursued ever since; was twice elected prosecuting attorney, and was afterwards appointed judge of probate of Macomb County; is a past commander in the Grand Army of the Republic; was a candidate for Congress in 1884, but was defeated; was elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, receeiving 18,623 votes, to 12,888 for Fred E. Burton, Democrat, and 279 for Dr. James Henderson, Populist.

EDGAR WEEKS.

GEORGE L. WELLINGTON.

GEORGE L. WELLINGTON.

George L. Wellington, Republican, of Cumberland, Md., was born of German parentage at Cumberland, Allegany County, Md., January 28, 1852; attended a German school for a brief period, otherwise self-educated; at the age of 12 began work in a canal store in Cumberland; in 1870 was appointed to a clerkship in the Second National Bank of Cumberland; later became teller; was appointed treasurer of Allegany County in 1882 and served until 1888; was again appointed in 1890; was delegate to the National Republican Conventions of 1884 and 1888; was nominated by the Republican party for comptroller of Maryland in 1889 and was defeated after an active canvass, though he received the largest vote ever given a candidate of his party on the State ticket; was appointed by President Harrison assistant treasurer of the United States at Baltimore in July, 1890; was nominated for Congress by the Republicans of the Sixth Congressional District in 1892 and was defeated by W. McM. McKaig; was renominated in 1894 and elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress; was elected to the United States Senate and took his seat March 4, 1897. His term of service will expire March 3, 1903. Mr. Wellington's rise to political prominence and power should furnish evidence to American youth that the highest places are within their reach by the use of industry, perseverance, tact, and all those qualities that nurture strong, determined character. He not only overcame obstacles which seemed insurmountable, but conquered a place in party councils which commanded its highest gifts and honors. He has added to his regular duties those of the chairmanship of the committee To Establish the University of the United States, and membership of the committees on Coast Defences, District of Columbia Corporations, Public Buildings and Grounds, Industrial Expositions, Coast and Insular Survey, and District of Columbia.

cisely of what stuff Stevenson was made. He was a Napoleon in energy, a Ney in tactics, a Taylor in persistency. That the campaign grew bitter as it grew excited was to be expected, but it was not the fault of either candidate, so much as the indiscretion of their friends. The war was waged unremittingly till the polls closed.

During this malignant and scorching campaign Mr. Stevenson was forced to meet and demolish the charge that he was not in sympathy with the Union and that he had been a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle. He showed that he had never been a member of any society, except the fraternities connected with his college, and the remarkable result of this campaign fully vindicated him from the aspersions cast upon him.

The result of this election was astounding to both sides. He had overcome quite three thousand opposition majority and had turned it into a Democratic majority of nearly twelve hundred. Such a revolution is seldom witnessed, especially in stable communities. It was largely a personal triumph, and it greatly augmented his fame as a politician and his standing as a popular, lion-hearted man. It gave him a prestige in his party which only needed cultivation and opportunity to establish him as among its chief advisers.

His career in Congress was that of a thorough-going Democrat. He did not originate measures, but he proved to be a staunch advocate of all that was Democratic, a safe and shrewd adviser, and a reliable exponent of party measures. He retired with honors, and with a career that greatly endeared him to his constituency. He had made a mark for industry, for courage in debate, for consistency, earnestness and ability, which laid the foundation of other favors.

In 1876 his party re-nominated him for Congress. Again he fought the ground minutely and persistently. But conditions had changed, and after a brilliant battle he was forced to acknowledge a defeat. It was one of those defeats, however, which did not diminish the glory of the vanquished. He lost nothing in the esteem of his friends and gained in the estimation of his enemies. The fates that had favored him proved fickle. The show had been desperate from the first.

Such was the esteem in which he was held by his party, and such its confidence in his ability to fight against odds, that they re-nominated him for Congress in 1878. All know the thankless character of that undertaking which involves candidacy in a district where opposition is confidently intrenched. It is the bearing of a flag in despair, with no recompense except the comfort of conserving party discipline. It is the costliest service one can render, in that it is so sacrificial of the time of the standard-bearer. This sacrifice Stevenson was willing to make. This despair did not impair his resolution. He entered the canvass with renewed ardor. Behind him was a solid Democracy. He inclined to a more extended currency, and would certainly receive the support of all those who had identified themselves with the "Greenback" movement, then so popular, and before which both of the great parties trembled. He made a campaign which was active, brilliant, convincing, and walked away with the honors, having rolled up a majority in his district of nearly 2,000, carrying every county. This result was simply phenomenal, and impossible with any other man than General Stevenson.

His career in Congress for his second term duplicated his first for industry, consistency and pertinacity. If not as showy as others, he was true, and his party knew exactly where to find him. He retired once more with honors, and such a confidence on the part of his friends as that forgetfulness was out of the question.

In 1880 he was again nominated for Congress. But political conditions had changed since his last election and the times were unpropitious. The "Greenback" swell had subsided, and his chief reliance must be on a straight party vote in a hopelessly Republican district. But he allowed nothing to go by default. He fought with desperation and kept his party lines intact. His defeat was accomplished only after herculean effort on the part of his foes and by much less than a normal majority. Defeat occasioned no loss of prestige; if anything it fixed him firmer in the affections and councils of his party.

In 1882 Mr. Stevenson again yielded to the desire of his party and became a candidate for Congress on the straight Democratic ticket. He saw from the beginning the desperate character of the undertaking, for political matters had resumed their old ruts, and the possibility of drawing from the enemy was remote. Nevertheless he made a rattling campaign and called forth all the fighting qualities of his opponents. He was defeated by the normal majority of the district, which might be said to average about 2700, in an off year.

On his retiracy from Congress in 1881 he resumed the practice of the law, which he conducted with success and profit, as before. But his interest in politics did not cease. He was consulted by the party leaders in his State, and was regarded as the ablest of organizers and the most courageous of workers and exponents. In 1884 he was elected a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, where he made most favorable impression by earnestness of speech and commanding personal presence.

By virtue of his services at this convention, of his excellent standing in his community, of his conceded legal and administrative ability, he was appointed First Assistant Postmaster-General under the Cleveland Administration, July 6, 1885. An important function of this office is the appointment of postmasters, below the grade of Presidential appointees. It is, therefore, easy to see that the main duty is one of great delicacy, yet of momentous importance. It requires great care and discrimination, wonderful patience and pertinacity, and, as custom has it, an amount of fearlessness and party devotion which few men can exercise, amid a harrowing environment. Duty overdone is as perilous as duty underdone; and to measure the exact amount of duty requires discrimination of an exalted order.

Mr. Stevenson came up to the full standard of an able and uncompromising official. He had full grasp of the situation, was painstaking and industrious, conscientious in his desire to better the service. If removals and appointments were frequent, he had excellent precedent for his action. If in the course of his administration he brought about a change in the political complexion of the service, his action had the sanction of time-honored custom and met the demands of his party. The quality of his own politics had always been of the sterling type, and his sense of both duty and propriety would have been outraged if he had not employed the power and opportunity at his disposal to perfect the service through agents in harmony with his own and the political views of his Chief.

He proved to be an affable and popular official in a place full of embarrassments. He earned the respect of all his subordinates and associates, and the confidence of all his superiors. He held his position with honor and daily growing popularity till the end of Mr. Cleveland's term, when he retired to resume his profession, with the best wishes of all with whom he had been connected, whose numbers were legion, and with the proud consciousness that he had left the postal service of the land in a better condition than he found it.

Upon his retiracy Mr. Stevenson not only resumed his profession, but greatly enlarged his business connections. Besides his interest in other substantial affairs, he was made President of the Interstae Building and Loan Association of Bloomington, which institution was incorporated and started in 1889.

Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson is of tall, well-proportioned, commanding figure, not inclined to corpulency; his features are regular and his face expressive; his forehead is high and well shaped; his hair is light and rather thin; his eyes are blue and keen; his moustache is light colored. He has an agreeable manner, and his voice is pleasant in conversation. In public address his voice is clear and penetrating. The nervousness noticeable when he begins to speak passes away and is entirely lost in his earnestness. He stands high as an orator and debater, and as a pleader at the bar he ranks with the best in his State. In society he is dignified and graceful. His handshake is warm and assuring, and he has that happy faculty of remembering names perfectly, which counts for so much with men in public life.

He is, like Cleveland, an adherent of the Presbyterian denomination, and in his private life a model of morality, with no bad habits. He is devoted to his family and his family is devoted to him. In Bloomington, where he lives, in a modest but thoroughly comfortable house, as in Washington, where he never felt rich enough to keep house or entertain, he is most popular with those who know him best.

One of the last official acts of Mr. Cleveland was to nominate Mr. Stevenson for Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, but the Republican Senate failed to act upon his nomination, and it fell through with the end of the administration. In 1877 Mr. Hayes honored him with the appointment of a place on the Board to inspect the Military Academy at West Point. The recent Illinois Democratic State Convention elected him one of the delegates at large to the National Democratic Convention at Chicago, and he was therefore a member of the body which was to confer further honors on himself.

Though Mr. Stevenson's name had been mentioned in connection with the vice-presidency for some time before the Chicago Convention, other names appeared to be more prominent. After the convention assembled, and a comparison of notes had been had, it was generally conceded that the nomination would go to Hon. Isaac P. Gray, of Indiana. Geographically he occupied a "coign of vantage." Consideration of his name, and even the inducement of a nomination, operated as a cohesive force upon the Indiana delegation, and perhaps influenced them in favor of Mr. Cleveland. At any rate, as affairs shaped up in the Convention, Mr. Gray's name was most conspicuously before it till the hour of making nominations came. Then came his period of weakness. The geographic idea lost its force, and other questions of expediency arose, among which was the one that Illinois was, equally with Indiana, a doubtful State, and might be carried by a man of Mr. Stevenson's wonderful energy, popularity and organizing ability. But whether this were so or not, his name at any rate would carry greater weight throughout the land, and round out the ticket with a more perfect symmetry.

On the third day of the convention's session, June 23, 1892, the roll was called for nominations for the vice-presidency. Arkansas yielded to Indiana, and the name of Hon. Isaac P. Gray was placed in nomination by Hon. John E.

Lamb, in a pleasing speech and amid much applause. When Colorado was called, she yielded to Illinois, when ex-Congressman Worthington arose, amid general cheering, and presented the name of Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson.

Mr. Worthington's address was received with vociferous applause and it was easy to understand that the nomination had opened a new trend of sentiment in the convention. The nomination was seconded by Kentucky and North Carolina.

The names of Chief Justice Allen B. Morse, of Michigan, and Hon. John L. Mitchell, of Wisconsin, were also placed in nomination, but it was plain that the contest was to lie between Stevenson and Gray.

The balloting showed the following figures: Stevenson, 402; Gray, 343; Morse, 86; Mitchell, 45; Watterson, 26.

But before this result was announced, Iowa was recognized and changed its twenty-six votes from Watterson to Stevenson. This started the stampede and Montana threw her six votes to Stevenson, followed by Nebraska and Nevada who gave their solid vote.

Ohio changed forty-six votes to Stevenson. Oregon changed eight votes to Stevenson. Tennessee changed to Stevenson. Texas changed to Stevenson. This was sufficient to nominate Stevenson, and on motion the rules were suspended and he was nominated by acclamation.

After his nomination General Stevenson held an informal reception at the Palmer House, and was warmly congratulated by a host of his friends and supporters, who regarded his success as propitious of a larger success in November.

The country accepted the nomination as an unusually strong one, and interpreted the entire action of the convention as the wisest possible, every line of political thought being considered.

Mr. Stevenson participated actively in the stirring campaign which followed, and contributed much to the great victory achieved by his ticket in November, 1892. He made an able and conscientious presiding officer of the Senate, and retained his high place in the councils of his party.

On retiring to private life at the end of his term in 1897, he resumed his profession, with no particular thought of further political promotion, although his name was frequently mentioned as a presidential possibility. On the assembling of the Democratic National Convention in Kansas City, July 4, 1900, the situation became such as to render him available as a vice-presidential nominee. On the third day of the convention, July 6, when nominations were in order, his was one of three principal names placed in nomination, the other two being Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota, and D. B. Hill, of New York. Mr. Towne was deemed the favorite of William J. Bryan, because he had been already made the vice-presidential nominee of the Populists. Mr. Hill was seemingly the favorite of the convention, but not acceptable to Mr. Bryan. This placed Mr. Stevenson in a particularly strong position, since his name was preferred by the convention to that of Towne. The roll of States was called amid great excitement, and with the result that Mr. Stevenson received 559 1-2 votes as against 89 1-2 for Towne and 200 for Hill. He therefore became Mr. Bryan's running-mate on the ticket. His nomination was well received by his party. The New York Journal said of it:

"The nomination of Adlai E. Stevenson for Vice-President was an inspiration. It is not merely that Mr. Stevenson is an admirable candidate in himself. It is still more for what he represents. The country will be trying no experiment in electing Mr. Stevenson. It tried him for four years. It remembers him as one of the best Vice-Presidents that ever presided over the Senate. Cool, level-headed and tactful, he will be an ideal occupant of that chair to which Mr. Bryan's robust health will probably confine his duties. And if, by any unforseen chance, he should be called upon to succeed to the Presidency, he would rise to the full measure of his new responsibilities."

And the Cincinnati Inquirer:

"The good man for Vice-President has been found. Mr. Stevenson is in thorough line with Democratic principles, original and present. He is sound in the faith, he is all right on anti-imperialism,anti-trust, anti-militarism and on finances. He is with the people on all questions; and the men who are outside the Democratic organization, but who now propose to act with the party, could not find a better man to vote for. The campaign of 1900 is well begun."

CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS.

THE Democratic National Convention of 1900 met, pursuant to the call of the National Committee, at Kansas City, Missouri, on July 4, 1900. The convention hall was a spacious one, newly built on the site of a former one which had been destroyed by fire. The convention was called to order at 12 M. by Senator James K. Jones, of Arkansas, chairman of the National Committee. The opening prayer was made by Rev. Neal, of the Central Presbyterian Church, Kansas City. An address of welcome to the delegates was made by the Mayor of the city, James A. Reed. Hon. Charles F. Thomas, Governor of Colorado, was chosen temporary chairman. He accepted the honor in an able speech in which he reviewed the political situation from its present and past standpoints.

Delegate Campaugh, of Michigan, moved that the Declaration of Independence be read. The reading was made in eloquent style by a professional elocutionist, and it was received with outbursts of applause. The band followed with the "Star Spangled Banner," amid whose strains a plaster of Paris bust of William Jennings Bryan was unveiled on the platform, the convention receiving it with the waving of flags and tremendous outburst of cheers. As a counter to this demonstration, the friends of Ex-Senator Hill, of New York, who had come as a delegate in the interest of a conservative platform and as a likely candidate for the vice-presidency, but who had been defied, if not defeated, in his aspirations by the Tammany leaders, filled the hall with cheers and repeated calls for Hill, until he arose in his seat and bowed recognition. After the roll call of States to ascertain the delegates present and the standing of the delegations, the convention adjourned at 4 P. M. until 4.30 P. M., so as to give the committees on Platform, Rules and Credentials a chance to report.

The second session of the day opened at 4.30 P. M., but almost immediately adjourned till 8.30 P. M.

At the evening session—8.30 P. M.—the committee on Permanent Organization reported, among other officers, the name of Hon. John B. Richardson, member of Congress from Tennessee, as permanent chairman. He was unanimously chosen, and accepted the honor in a brilliant speech highly eulogistic of Mr. Bryan and setting forth 16 to 1 good reasons why Democracy should triumph and Republicanism fail. The convention then adjourned until 10.30 A. M. of July 5th. The attendance of the day had been phenomenally large, the heat suffocating, and the enthusiasm intense. The choice of officers and other proceedings of the day showed that Mr. Bryan had the convention well in hand, though there was apparent conflict in the air over the 16 to 1 plank in the platform and the choice of a candidate for Vice-President.

PROCEEDINGS OF JULY 5th.—The committee on Resolutions not being ready to report, the morning session was occupied in general speech-making. Adjournment was had at 1 P. M. until 3.30 P. M. Proccedings of the second session began at 4 P. M. with the reading of the platform, which was unanimously adopted as reported by the committee on Resolutions. The placing of Mr. Bryan's name in nomination for the Presidency was next in order. This was done by W. D. Oldham, of Nebraska, who supported his motion in a vigorous and eloquent address. Seconding speeches were made by Judge E. B. Perkins, of Texas, ex-Senator

Stephen A. White, of California, Judge Thompson, of Illinois, ex-Senator Hill, of New York, and ex-Governor Pattison, of Pennsylvania. Upon a roll call of States, each delegation recorded a unanimous vote for the nominee, so that he obtained the entire vote of the convention without question or opposition, and amid the most enthusiastic demonstrations. Proceedings were then adjourned until 10.30 A. M. of July 6.

PROCEEDINGS OF JULY 6th.—The session of the day was opened amid much excitement over the nomination of a Vice-President, and with a crowd present estimated at 25,000 people. Three leading names were placed in nomination for Vice-President: Hon. Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota, Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, and ex-Senator D. B. Hill, of New York. It was understood that Mr. Bryan's preference was for Towne, who had already been nominated for Vice-President by the Populists. It was equally understood that Mr. Bryan was opposed to Hill. A majority of the convention seemed to favor Hill, and to oppose Towne as not being a straight Democrat. This situation rendered a compromise necessary, and on a call of States, Stevenson was nominated by a vote of 559 1-2 to 89 1-2 for Towne, and 200 for Hill. One hundred and nine votes were cast for other names which had been placed in nomination. The convention adjourned sine die at 3.20 P. M., of July 6th, 1900.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM OF 1900.

WE, the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, assembled in convention on the anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, do re-affirm our faith in that immortal proclamation of the inalienable rights of man and our allegiance to the Constitution framed in harmony therewith by the fathers of the Republic. We hold with the United States Supreme Court that the Declaration of Independence is the spirit of government of which the Constitution is the form and letter.

We declare again that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny; and that to impose on any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic. We hold that the Constitution follows the flag and denounce the doctrine that an executive or Congress, deriving their existence and their powers from the Constitution, can exercise lawful authority beyond it or in violation of it.

We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home. Believing in these fundamental principles, we denounce the Porto Rico law, enacted by a Republican Congress against the protest and opposition of the Democratic minority, as a bold and open violation of the nation's organic law and a flagrant breach of the national good faith. It imposes upon the people of Porto Rico a government without their consent and taxation without representation. It dishonors the American people by repudiating a solemn pledge made in their behalf by the commanding general of our army, which the Porto Ricans welcomed to a peaceful and unresisted occupation of their land. It doomed to poverty and distress a people whose helplessness appeals with peculiar force to our justice and magnanimity. In this, the first act of its imperialistic program, the Republican party seeks to commit the United States to a colonial policy, inconsistent with Republican institutions and condemned by the Supreme Court in numerous decisions.

We demand the prompt and honest fulfilment of our pledge to the Cuban people and the world that the United States has no disposition nor intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over the island of Cuba except for its pacification. The war ended nearly two years ago, profound peace reigns over all the island and still the administration keeps the government of the island from its people, while Republican carpet bag officials plunder its revenues and exploit the colonial theory to the disgrace of the American people.

We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present Administration. It has involved the Republic in unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of our noblest sons and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government. The Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization; they cannot be subjects without imperiling our form of government and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization or to convert the republic into an empire we favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give the Filipinos first, a stable form of government, second, independence and, third, protection from outside interference such as has been given for nearly a century to the Republics of Central and South America.

The greedy commercialism which dictated the Philippine policy of the Republican Administration attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay, but even this sordid and unworthy plea falls when brought to the test of facts. The war of criminal aggression against the Filipinos, entailing an annual expense of many millions, has already cost more than any possible profit that could accrue from the entire Philippine trade for years to come. Furthermore, when trade is extended at the expense of liberty the price is always too high.

We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into States in the Union and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens.

We favor expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means. But we are unalterably opposed to the seizing or purchasing of distant islands to be governed outside the Constitution, and whose people can never become citizens.

We are in favor of extending the Republic's influence along the nations, but believe that influence should be extended, not by force and violence, but through the pursuasive power of a high and honorable example.

The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is in nowise diminished and the Democratic party takes no backward step from its position on them, but the burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish war involves the very existence of the Republic, and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign.

The declaration in the Republican platform adopted at the Philadelphia Convention, held in June, 1900, that the Republican party "steadfastly adheres to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine" is manifestly insincere and deceptive. This profession is contradicted by the avowed policy of that party in opposition to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine to acquire and hold sovereignty over large areas of territory and large number of people in the Eastern hemisphere. We insist on the strict maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine and in all its integrity, both in letter and in spirit, as necessary to prevent the extension of European authority on this continent and as essential to our supremacy in American affairs. At the same time we declare that no American people shall ever be held by force in unwilling subjection to Europe in authority.

We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace loving people a large standing army and unneccessary burden of taxation and a constant menace to their liberties. A small standing army and a well disciplined state militia are amply sufficient in time of peace. This Republic has no place for a vast military service and conscription. When the nation is in danger the volunteer soldier is his country's best defender. The National Guard of the United States should ever be cherished in the patriotic hearts of a free people. Such organizations are ever an element of strength and safety. For the first time in our history and co-evil with the Philippine conquest has there been a wholesale departure from our time honored and approved system of volunteer organization. We denounce it as un-American, un-Democratic and un-Republican, and as a subversion of the ancient and fixed principles of a free people.

Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of all material, and of the finished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer. They lessen the employment of labor, and arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions thereof, and deprive individual energy and small capital of their opportunity for betterment.

They are the most efficient means yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and unless their insatiate greed is checked, all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the Republic destroyed. The dishonest paltering with the trust evil by the Republican party in State and national platforms is conclusive truth of the charge that trusts are the legitimate product of Republican policies, that they are fostered by Republican laws and that they are protected by the Republican Administration in return for campaign subscriptions and political support.

We pledge the Democratic party to an unceasing warfare in nation, State and city against private monopoly in every form. Existing laws against trusts must be enforced and more stringent ones must be enacted providing for publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce and requiring all corporations to show, before doing business outside of the State of their origin that they have no water in their stock, and that they have not attempted and are not attempting to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any articles of merchandise, and the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails and all modes of interstate communication shall be exercised by the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts. Tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection.

The failure of the present Republican Administration with an absolute control over all the branches of the national Government, to enact any legislation designed to prevent or even curtail the absorbing power of trusts and illegal combinaations, or to enforce the anti-trust laws already on the statute books prove the insincerity of the high sounding phrases of the Republican platform.

Corporations should be protected in all their rights and their legitimate interests should be respected, but any attempt by corporations to interfere with the public affairs of the people or to control the sovereignty which creates them, should be forbidden until such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.

We condemn the Dingley tariff law as a trust-breeding measure, skillfully devised to give the few favors which they do not desire and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear.

We favor such an enlargement of the scope of the interstate commerce law as will enable the commission to protect individuals and communities from discriminations and the public from unjust and unfair transportation rates.

We reaffirm and indorse the principles of the National Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

We denounce the currency bill enacted at the last session of Congress as a step forward in the Republican policy which aims to discredit the sovereign right of the national Government to issue all money, whether coin or paper, and to bestow upon national banks the power to issue and control the volume of paper money for their own benefit. A permanent national bank currency, secured by the Government bonds, must have a permanent debt to rest upon, and if the bank currency is to increase with population and business the debt must also increase. The Republican currency scheme is, therefore, a scheme for fastening upon taxpayers a perpetual and growing debt for the benefit of the banks. We are opposed to this private corporation paper circulated as money, but without legal tender qualities, and demand the retirement of the national bank notes as fast as this Government paper and silver certificates can be substituted for them.

We favor an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and we favor direct legislation wherever practicable.

We are opposed to government by injunction; we denounce the blacklist and favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employees.

In the interest of American labor and uplifting of the workingman, as the cornerstone of the prosperity of our country, we recommend that Congress create a department of labor in charge of a secretary, with a seat in the Cabinet, believing that the elevation of the American laborer will bring with it increased prosperity to our country at home and to our commerce abroad.

We are proud of the courage and fidelity of the American soldiers and sailors in all our wars; we favor liberal pensions to them and their dependents, and we reiterate the position taken in the Chicago platform in 1896 that the fact of enlistment and service shall be deemed of conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

We favor the immediate construction, ownership and control of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States and we denounce the insincerity of the plank in the late Republican platform for an isthmian canal, in face of the failure of the Republican majority to pass the pending bill in Congress

We condemn the Hay-Pauncefote treaty as a surrender of American rights and interests, not to be tolerated by the American people.

We denounce the failure of the Republican party to carry out its pledges to grant Statehood to the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma, and we promise the people of those Territories immediate Statehood and home rule during their condition as Territories, and we favor home rule and a Territorial form of Government for Alaska and Porto Rico.

We favor an intelligent system of improving the arid lands of the West, storing the waters for purposes of irrigation, and the holding of such lands for actual settlers.

We favor the continuance and strict enforcement of the Chinese exclusion law and its application to the same classes of all Asiatic races.

Jefferson said: "Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none."

We approve this wholesome doctrine and earnestly protest against the Republican departure which has involved us in so-called politics, including the diplomacy of Europe and the intrigue and land-grabbing of Asia, and we especially condemn the ill-concealed Republican alliance with England, which must mean discrimination against other friendly nations, and which has already stifled the nation's voice while liberty is being strangled in Africa.

Believing in the principles of self-government and rejecting, as did our fore-fathers, the claim of monarchy, we view with indignation the purpose of England to overwhelm with force the South African Republics. Speaking, as we do, for the entire American nation, except its Republican officeholders, and for all free men everywhere, we extend our sympathies to the heroic burghers in their unequal struggle to maintain their liberty and independence.

We denounce the large appropriations of recent Republican Congresses which have kept taxes high and which threaten the perpetuation of oppression of war levies. We oppose the accumulation of a surplus to be squandered in such barefaced frauds upon the taxpayers as the shipping subsidy bill, which, under the false pretense of prosperingAmerican shipbuilding would put unearned millions into the pockets of favorite contributors to the Republican campaign fund. We favor the reduction and speedy repeal of the war taxes and a return to the time-honored Democratic policy of strict economy in governmental expenditures.

Believing that our most cherished institutions are in great peril, that the very existence of our constitutional Republic is at stake and that the decision now to be rendered will determine whether or not our children are to enjoy those blessed privileges of free government which have made the United States great, prosperous and honored, we earnestly ask for the foregoing declaration of principles the hearty support of the liberty-loving American people, regardless of previous party affiliations.

CHARLES A. TOWNE.

THE POPULIST PARTY.

LIFE OF CHARLES A TOWNE,

Nominee for Vice-President.

CHARLES A. TOWNE was born in Oakland County, Michigan, November 21, 1858. His early years were passed on a farm. Received a common school education and afterwards graduated from the University of Michigan in the academic course of 1881. Became Chief Clerk in the Department of Public Instruction, and afterward Chief Clerk in the Treasury Department, Lansing, Mich., studying law at nights. Admitted to the bar before the Michigan Supreme Court in 1885. Began the practice of law at Marquette, 1886. Moved to Duluth, Minn., 1890. Elected to Fifty-fourth Congress in 1894, as a Republican, the State platform of that year being bimetallic in principle. On February 8, 1896, delivered his famous speech in the House on "Silver Restoration, the Duty of the Republican Party." Repudiated the gold standard plank in the St. Louis Republican platform of 1896, and refused to be a candidate a second time for Congress on the Republican ticket. Was at once nominated by the Democrats, Populists and Silver Republicans of his district (Sixth, Minn.), and was defeated by 463 votes. Has served as chairman of the National Committee of the Silver Republican Party since February, 1897, and delivered speeches on finance, trusts, imperialism and various literary and political subjects in most of the States of the Union. On May, 10, 1900, was nominated by acclamation at the Populist National Convention at Sioux Falls, S. Dak., for Vice-President of the United States.

Some weeks after the nomination of Adlai E. Stevenson for vice-president by the Democratic National Convention at Kansas City, July 6, 1900, Mr. Towne withdrew as candidate of the Populist Party for vice-president, in order to give Mr. Stevenson a clear field.

CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS.

THE National Convention of the Populist Party, or, as sometimes called, the Straight-out-Populists, to distinguish them from the Middle-of-the-Road Populists, met at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, on May 9, 1900. It had been a foregone conclusion that William J. Bryan would be nominated as the candidate of the party for President of the United States, with a view to fusion with the Democrats, and this program was carried out by acclamation. Hon. Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota, was nominated as candidate for Vice-President. The following platform was adopted:

POPULIST PARTY PLATFORM FOR 1900.

To the people of the United States we offer the following platform as the expression of our unalterable convictions:

Resolved, That we denounce the act of March 14, 1900, as the culmination of a long series of conspiracies to deprive the people of their constitutional rights over the money of the nation, and relegate to a gigantic money trust the control of the purse and hence of the people.

We denounce this act, first, for making all money obligations, domestic and foreign, payable in gold coin or its equivalent, thus enormously increasing the burdens of the debtors and enriching the creditors.

Second. For refunding "coin bonds" not to mature for years into long time gold bonds, so as to make their payment improbable and our debt perpetual.

Third. For taking from the Treasury over $50,000,000 in a time of war and representing it, at a premium, to bondholders to accomplish the refunding of bonds not due.

Fourth. For doubling the capital of bankers by returning to them the face value of their bonds in current money notes so that they may draw one interest from the Government and another from the people.

Fifth. For allowing banks to expand and contract their circulation at pleasure, thus controlling prices of all products.

Sixth. For authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue new gold bonds to an unlimited amount whenever he deems it necessary to replenish the gold hoard, thus enabling usurers to secure more bonds and more bank currency by drawing gold from the Treasury, thereby creating an "endless chain" for perpetually adding to a perpetual debt.

Seventh. For striking down the greenback in order to force the people to borrow three hundred and forty-six millions of dollars more from the banks at an annual cost of over twenty millions of dollars.

While barring out the money of the Constitution, this law opens the printing mints of the Treasury to the free coinage of paper money to enrich the few and impoverish the many.

We pledge anew the People's party never to cease the agitation until this eighth financial conspiracy is blotted from the statute books, the Lincoln greenbacks restored, the bonds all paid and all corporation money forever retired.

We re-affirm the demand for the re-opening of the mints of the United States for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold, at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.

We demand a graduated income and inheritance tax to the end that aggregated wealth shall bear its just proportion of taxation.

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

With Thomas Jefferson we declare the land, including all natural sources of wealth, the inalienable heritage of the people. Government should so act as to secure homes for the people and prevent land monopoly. The original homestead policy should be enforced and future settlers upon the public domain should be entitled to a free homestead, while all who have paid an acreage price to the Government under existing laws should have their homestead rights restored.

Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people and on a nonpartisan basis.

Trusts, the overshadowing evil of the age, are the result and culmination of the private ownership and control of the three great instruments of commerce—money, transportation and the means of transmission of information; which instruments of commerce are public functions and which our forefathers declared in the constitution should be controlled by the people through their Congress for the public welfare. The one remedy for the trusts is that the ownership and control be assumed and exercised by the people.

We further demand that all tariffs on goods controlled by a trust shall be abolished.

To cope with the trust evil, the people must act directly without the intervention of representatives who may be controlled or influenced. We therefore demand direct legislation, giving the people the lawmaking and veto power under the initiative and referendum. A majority of the people can never be corruptly influenced.

Applauding the valor of our army and navy in the Spanish war, we denounce the conduct of the Administration in changing a war for humanity into a war of conquest. The action of the Administration in the Philippines is in conflict with all the precedents of our national life, at war with the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the plain precepts of humanity. Murder and arson have been our response to the appeals of the people who asked only to establish a free government in their own land. We demand a stoppage of this war of extermination by the assurance to the Philippines of independence and protection under a stable government of their own creation.

The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the American flag are one and inseparable. The island of Porto Rico is a part of the territory of the United States and by levying special and extraordinary customs duties on the commerce of that island the Administration has violated the Constitution, abandoned the fundamental principles of American liberty and has striven to give the lie to the contention of our forefathers that there should be no taxation without representation.

Out of the imperialism which would force an undesired domination on the people of the Philippines, springs the un-American cry for a large standing army. Nothing in the character or purposes of our people justifies us in ignoring the plain lesson of history, and putting our liberties in jeopardy by assuming the burden of militarism, which is crushing the people of the old world.

We extend to the brave Boers of South Africa our sympathy and moral support in their patriotic struggle for the right of self-government, and we are unalterably opposed to any alliance, open or covert, between the United States and another nation that will tend to the destruction of human liberty.

And a further manifestation of imperialism is to be found in the mining districts of Idaho. In the Coeur D'Alene, soldiers have been used to overawe miners striving for a greater measure of industrial independence. And we denounce the State Government of Idaho and the Federal Government for employing the military arm of the Government to abridge the civil rights of the people.

The importation of Japanese and other laborers under contract to serve monopolistic corporations is a notorious and flagrant violation of the immigration laws. We demand that the Federal Government shall take cognizance of this menacing evil and repress it under existing laws.

We indorse municipal ownership of public utilities and declare that the advantages which have accrued to the public under that system would be multiplied an hundredfold by its extension to natural interstate monopolies.

We denounce the practice of issuing injunction in the cases of dispute between employers and employes making criminal acts by organizations which are not criminal when performed by individuals, and demand legislation to restrain the evil.

We demand that United States Senators and all other officials, as far as practicable, be elected by direct vote of the people.

SILVER REPUBLICAN PARTY.

THE National Convention of the Silver Republican party was held at Kansas City, Mo., concurrently with that of the Democratic party. It nominated William J. Bryan for President on July 6th by acclamation, and by a practically unanimous vote referred the vice-presidential nomination to the National Committee with plenary power. The convention adjourned sine die on July 6.

SILVER REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM OF 1900.

We, the Silver Republican party, in National Convention assembled, declare these as our principles and invite the cooperation of all who agree therewith:

We recognize that the principles set forth in the Declaration of American Independence are fundamental and everlastingly true in their application to governments among men. We believe the patriotic words of Washington's farewell to be the words of soberness and wisdom, inspired by the spirit of right and truth. We treasure the words of Jefferson as priceless gems of American statesmanship. We hold in sacred remembrance the philanthropy and patriotism of Lincoln, who was the great interpreter of American history and the great apostle of human rights and of industrial freedom, and we declare as was declared by the convention that nominated the Great Emancipator, that the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed"—is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions.

We declare our adherence to the principles of bimetallism as the right basis of a monetary system under our national Constitution, a principle that found place repeatedly in Republican platforms from the demonetization of silver in 1873 to the St. Louis Republican Convention of 1896.

Since that convention a Republican Congress and a Republican President at the dictation of the trusts and money power, has passed and approved a currency bill, which, in itself, is a repudiation of the doctrine of bimetallism advocated theretofore by the President and every great leader of his party.

This currency law destroys the full money power of the silver dollar, provides for the payment of all government obligations and the redemption of all forms of paper money in gold alone, retires the time-honored and patriotic greenbacks, constituting one-sixth of the money in circulation, and surrenders to banking corporations a sovereign function of issuing all paper money, thus enabling these corporations to control the prices of labor and property by increasing or diminishing the volume of money in circulation, thus giving the banks power to create panics and bring disasters upon business enterprises.

The provisions of this currency law making the bonded debt of the Republic payable in gold alone changes the contract between the government and the bond-holder to the advantage of the latter, and is in direct opposition to the declaration of the Matthews resolution passed by Congress in 1878, for which resolution the present Republican President, then a member of Congress, voted, as did also all leading Republicans, both in the House and Senate.

We declare it to be our intention to lend our efforts to the repeal of this currency law, which not only repudiates the ancient and time-honored principles of the American people before the Constitution was adopted, but is violative of the principles of the Constitution itself; and we shall not cease our efforts until there has been established in its place a monetary system based upon the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold into money at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 by the independent action of the United States, under which system all paper money shall be issued by the government, and all such money coined or issued shall be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, without exception.

We are in favor of a graduated tax upon incomes and if necessary to accomplish this we favor an amendment to the Constitution.

We believe that the United States Senators ought to be elected by a direct vote of the people and we favor such amendment of the Constitution and such legislation as may be necessary to that end.

We favor the maintenance and the extension, wherever practicable, of the merit system in the public service, appointments to be made according to fitness, competitively ascertained, and public servants to be retained in office only so long as shall be compatible with the efficiency of the service.

Combinations, trusts and monopolies contrived and arranged for the purpose of controlling the prices and quantity of articles supplied to the public are unjust, unlawful and oppressive. Not only do these unlawful conspiracies fix the prices of commodities in many cases, but they invade every branch of the State and national government with their polluting influence and control the actions of their employes and dependents in private life until their influence actually imperils society and the liberty of the citizen. We declare against them. We demand the most stringent laws for their destruction and the most severe punishment of their promotors and maintainers and the energetic enforcement of such laws by the courts.

We believe the Monroe doctrine to be sound in principle and a wise national policy, and we demand a firm adherence thereto. We condemn acts inconsistent with it and that tend to make us parties to the interests and to involve us in the controversies of European nations, and to recognition by pending treaty of the right of England to be considered in the construction of an inter-oceanic canal. We declare that such canal, when constructed, ought to be controlled by the United States in the interests of American nations.

We observe with anxiety and regard with disapproval the increasing ownership of American lands by aliens and their growing control over our international transportation, natural resources and public utilities. We demand legislation to protect our public domain, our natural resources, our franchises and our internal commerce, and to keep them free and maintain their independence of all foreign monopolies, institutions and influences, and we declare our opposition to the leasing of the public lands of the United States whereby corporations and syndicates will be able to secure control thereof and thus monopolize the public domain, the heritage of the people.

We are in favor of the principles of direct legislation.

In view of the great sacrifice made and patriotic services rendered, we are in favor of liberal pensions to deserving soldiers, their widows, orphans and other dependents. We believe that enlistment and service should be accepted as conclusive proof that the soldier was free from diseases and disability at the time of his enlistment. We condemn the present administration of the pension laws.

We tender to the patriotic people of the South African republics our sympathy, and express our admiration for them in their heroic attempts to preserve their political freedom and maintain their national independence. We declare the destruction of these republics and the subjugation of their people to be a crime against civilization. We believe this sympathy should have been voiced by the American Congress, as was done in the case of the French, the Greeks, the Hungarians, the Polanders, the Armenians and the Cubans, and as the traditions of this country would have dictated.

We declare the Porto Rican tariff to be not only a serious but a dangerous departure from the principles of our form of government. We believe in a republican form of government, and are opposed to a monarchy and to the whole theory of imperialistic control. We belive in self-government—a government by the consent of the governed—and are unalterably opposed to a government based upon force. It is clear and certain that the inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago cannot be made citizens of the United States without endangering our civilization. We are, therefore, in favor of applying to the Philippine archipelago the principle we are solemnly and publicly pledged to observe in the case of Cuba.

There can be no longer any necessity for collecting war taxes, we demand the repeal of the war taxes levied to carry on the war with Spain.

We favor the immediate admission into the Union of States the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma.

We demand that our nation's promises to Cuba shall be fulfilled in every particular.

We contend that the national government should lend every aid, encouragement and assistance toward the reclamation of the arid lands of the United States and to that end we are in favor of a comprehensive survey thereof and an immediate ascertainment of the water supply available for such reclamation, and we believe it to be the duty of the general government to provide for the construction of storage reservoirs and irrigation works so that the water supply of the arid region may be utilized to the greatest possible extent in the interest of the people, while preserving all rights of the state.

Transportation is a public necessity and the means and methods of it are matters of public concern. Railway companies exercise a power over industries, business and commerce which they ought not to do and should be made to serve the public interests without making unreasonable charges or unjust discrimination. We observe with satisfaction the growing sentiment among the people in favor of the public ownership and operation of public utilities.

Peace is the virtue of civilization and war is its crime. War is only justified when the oppressors of humanity will heed no other appeal, and when the enemies of liberty will respond to no other demand. However high and pure may be the purposes of an appeal to arms in the beginning, war becomes immoral when continued for the purpose of subjugation, or for national aggrandizement.

We are in favor of expanding our commerce in the interests of American labor and for the benefit of all our people by every honest and peaceful means, but when war is waged to extend trade, force commerce or to acquire wealth, it is national piracy. Our creed and our history justify the nations of the earth in expecting that wherever the American flag is unfurled in authority, human liberty and political freedom will be found. We protest against the adoption of any policy that will change, in the thought of the world, the meaning of our flag. We insist that it shall never float over any vessel or wave at the head of any column directed against the political independence of any people or of any race or in any clime.

We are opposed to the importation of Asiatic laborers in competition with American labor and a more rigid enforcement of the laws relating thereto.

The Silver Republican party of the United States in the foregoing principles seeks to perpetuate the spirit and to adhere to the teachings of Abraham Lincoln.

GEORGE HENRY WHITE.

George Henry White, Republican, of Tarboro, N. C., was born at Rosindale, Bladen County, N. C., December 18, 1852; attended the public schools of his State, and later was trained under Prof. D. P. Allen, president of the Whitten Normal School, at Lumberton, N. C.; afterward entered Howard University, Washington, D. C.; he graduated from the electric department of that institution in the class of 1877; received the degree of M. A. from his alma mater, June, 1898, and that of LL. D. from Livingston College, Salisbury, N. C., and from Biddle University, Charlotte, N. C., in 1896; read law while taking academic course, and completed his reading under Judge William J. Clarke, of North Carolina, and was licensed to practice in all the courts of that State by the Supreme Court, January, 1879; was principal of one of the State Normal and other schools in the State; was elected to the House of Representatives in 1880 and to the State Senate in 1884; was elected solicitor and prosecuting attorney for the second judicial district of North Carolina for four years in 1886, and for a like term in 1890; was a candidate for Congress in the Second District in 1894, and was nominated, but withdrew in the interest of harmony in his party; was a delegate at large to the St. Louis Convention, and voted for the nomination of President McKinley; was elected to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and re-elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, receiving 17, 561 votes, to 14,947 for W. E. Fountain, Independent Democrat, 2,447 for James B. Lloyd, Populist, and 324 for B. F. Aycock, Democrat.

GEORGE HENRY WHITE.

WHARTON BARKER.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

LIFE OF WHARTON BARKER,

Presidential Nominee.

WHARTON Barker was born in Philadelphia, May 1, 1846. His Barker ancestors came from England to Massachusetts in 1623 and settled near Boston. His Wharton ancestors came with William Penn in 1682 and settled in Philadelphia. The Barker, Folger, Hazard, Rodman, Wharton, Fisher and Redwood families, Puritan and Quaker, were connected by marriage before the great struggle of the American Revolution. Jacob Barker, grandfather of Wharton Barker, and Benjamin Franklin were cousins; mothers of both were Folgers. Jacob Barker was born in 1779 and died in 1872. He was a hard worker and influential man during a long and eventful life; an admirer and follower of Jefferson and the intimate friend of Clinton and Hamilton and ardent supporter of Madison in the British war of 1812, taking in 1814 the major part of the ten million loan; he was the first to nominate Jackson for the presidency and gave him aggressive support in his war upon the United States Bank. On the maternal side, Charles Wharton, great grandfather of Wharton Barker, unlike many of the Quakers of his time, was an aggressve advocate and supporter of the Revolution, putting his name upon much of the Pennsylvania Continental paper in the darkest period of the war.

Wharton Barker was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, receiving degrees of A. B. in 1866 and A. M. in 1869. He is now an active member of the board of trustees of that institution, member of the American Philosophical Society, Academy of Natural Science, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He has been active in letters, in business and in politics for more than twenty-five years. He was proprietor and publisher of the Penn Monthly from 1870 to 1880 and The American from 1880 to 1890, and since 1895 editor and publisher. He has traveled much in Europe, China and Japan and in all had almost intimate relation with prominent men. In 1878 he was charged by the Russian Government with building cruisers in America at Cramps. In 1879 and 1880 he directed a survey of the Donetz coal and iron field of Southern Russia and made a comprehensive plan of railroad building for the development of that country. In 1879 the Emperor Alexander II in consideration of this work conferred upon him the order of St. Stanislaus, a distinction seldom given a foreigner. His Russian associations are still intimate. In 1887 he was called to Washington by the Chinese Minister to the United States acting under instructions of Li Hung Chang and consulted about railroad building, mines, railroad and factory in China. He sent engineers and agents to China that year and the Chinese Government sent special envoys to America to confer further with him. Upon proclamation of peace between China and Japan in 1895 Mr. Barker was called to Peking by high Chinese officials.

In 1890 Barker Brothers & Co. of which firm Wharton Barker was junior partner, met disaster through assaults of the money cliques, who disapproved his views upon finance and transportation.

Since 1876 Wharton Barker has taken an active part in politics. In 1880 he organized and led the campaign that resulted in the nomination of Garfield for President. He worked for the nomination of Harrison in 1884 but supported Blaine when the nomination of Harrison was impossible. He was successful in 1888 in his effort to nominate Harrison for President. When Harrison allied himself with the railroad and bank cliques, Wharton Barker concluded there was no hope for re-establishment of equality of opportunity through the Republican party. He gave reluctant but earnest support to Bryan in 1896, and joined the People's party soon after. Whether supporting Republican, Democratic or People's party, he has always fought for the plain people, a pure democracy and a government by the people. He is now accepted as high authority on all economic and transportation questions. He urges trade expansion on natural lines, and opposes territorial expansion in the Orient. He was the first advocate of free trade among American countries—an American Zollverein—knowing that natural trade runs along the meridians of longitude, not along the degrees of latitude.

On May 10, 1900, Mr. Barker was nominated for the Presidency of the United States, at the National Convention of the People's party held at Cincinnati, Ohio.

CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS.

THE National Convention of the People's Party, frequently mentioned in newspapers as the Middle-of-the road Populists, met at Cincinnati, Ohio, on May 9, 1900. It nominated Hon. Wharton Barker, of Philadelphia, Pa., and editor of the "American," as its candidate for President of the United States, on the second ballot, and Hon. Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota, as candidate for Vice-President. This action of the convention was a ratification of the work of a prior convention which had placed the same candidates provisionally in the field. The following platform of principles was adopted:

PEOPLES' PARTY PLATFORM OF 1900.

The People's party of the United States, assembled in National Convention, this 10th day of May, 1900, affirming our unshaken belief in the cardinal tenets of the People's party, as set forth in the Omaha platform, and pledging ourselves anew to continued advocacy of those grand principles of human liberty until right shall triumph over might, love over greed, do adopt and proclaim this declaration of faith:

1. We demand the initiative and referendum and the imperative mandate for such changes of existing fundamental and statute law as will enable the people in their sovereign capacity to propose and compel the enactment of such laws as they desire, to reject such as they deem injurious to their interests and to recall unfaithful public servants.

2. We demand the public ownership and operation of those means of communication, transportation and produc-

tion which the people may elect, such as railroads, telegraphs and telephone lines, coal mines, etc.

3. The land, including all natural sources of wealth, is a heritage of the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited.

4. A scientific and absolute paper money, based upon the entire wealth and population of the nation, not redeemable in any specific commodity, but made a full legal tender for all debts and receivable for all taxes and public dues and issued by the Government only without the intervention of banks and in sufficient quantity to meet the demands of commerce, is the best currency that can be devised; but until such a financial system is secured, which we shall press for adoption, we favor the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the legal ratio of 16 to 1.

5. We demand the levy and collection of a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances and a constitutional amendment to secure the same, if necessary.

6. We demand the election of President, Vice President, Federal Judges and United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

7. We are opposed to trusts and declare the contention between the old parties on the monopoly question is a sham battle, and that no solution of this mighty problem is possible without the adoption of the principles of public ownership of public utilities.

LIFE OF IGNATIUS DONNELLY.

Nominee for Vice-President.

Ignatius Donnelly was born in Philadelphia, Pa., November 3, 1831. Graduated at Central High School. Studied law, and admitted to bar in 1853. Moved to Territory of Minnesota in 1856, settling four miles from Hastings. Elected Lieutenant-Governor by Republicans in 1859. Re-elected in 1861. Elected to Congress in 1862. Re-elected in 1862 and 1864. Defeated for Congress in 1868, through a split in the party. In 1882, published his first book, "Atlantis, the Ante-Diluvian World," which was translated into many languages. In 1883, published "Ragnarok, the Age of Fire and Gravel." In 1888, published "The Great Cryptogram," to prove that Francis Bacon wrote Shakespeare's Plays. In 1892, published "Caesar's Column," a novel. Subsequently published two other novels, "Dr. Huguet" and "The Golden Bottle." In 1899, published "Cipher in the Plays and on the Tombstone," to demonstrate that there is a cipher in the inscription on the gravestone over the remains of Shakespeare, at Stratford, which announces that Bacon was the real author.

Mr. Donnelly's father, Dr. Philip Carrol Donnelly, was a native of Tryone County, Ireland, who migrated to the United States when he was nineteen years of age. He became one of the leading physicians of Philadelphia, and died universally loved and respected. His mother was a native of Philadelphia, of a family that has been in this country for considerably more than a century.

Mr. Donnelly was nominated for the Vice-Presidency on the ticket of the People's Party, at the Cincinnati Convention on May 10, 1900.

IGNATIUS DONNELLY.

JOHN G. WOOLEY.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION PARTY.

JOHN GRANVILLE WOOLLEY.

Nominee for President.

JOHN G. WOOLLEY was born at Collinsville, Butler County, Ohio, on February 15, 1850. He is a direct descendant of the ancient and distinguished Woolley family of England, whose male representative during the first half of the seventeenth century was Emanuel Woolley, who was an intimate friend of George Fox, and who through his influence became a convert to Quaker faith and discipline. Emanuel Woolley emigrated to America in the year 1653. Being well-to-do, he invested in large land-holdings in New Jersey, and erected a substantial establishment which is still a family seat.

The descendant, John G. Woolley, received his early education in the schools of Collinsville, and his higher education at the Ohio Wesleyan University from which he graduated in 1871. He then studied law and practiced with success for some years in Paris, Ill. He subsequently moved to Minneapolis, Minnesota, where he engaged further in his profession and acquired a lucrative practice. In search of a wider field for his ambitions and one better suited to his legal inclinations and learning, he moved to New York, where he again met with success in his profession.

While in New York he became deeply interested in the growing cause of Prohibition, and eventually one of its most eloquent, earnest and powerful advocates. His efforts, for a time, were chiefly those of the pen, and he carried a high place in the domain of Prohibition literature, being logical, pleasing and forceful in his writings. Soon he came into frequent demand as a public speaker for his cause, and as his reputation as orator and advocate grew, he gradually relinquished his profession and threw the full power of his learning and eloquence into what he regarded as his new and most acceptable mission.

In 1892 he changed his field of activity and usefulness to Chicago, Ill. Here he distinguished himself further in both the literature, philosophy and eloquence of his cause, by his editorial connection with "The New Voice," the Prohibition organ, especially of the northwest, and one of the most brilliant and progressive papers of the temperance school. It was but natural that one of his prominence in the organization should be sought out as its standard-bearer when the honors of nomination for President of the United States were to be distributed. He came before the National Convention of the party, at its meeting in Chicago, June 27, with the strongest endorsements of an active and enthusiastic body of delegates, representing widely distributed sections.

The convention was one of the largest, most enthusiastic and most fully representative of any in the history of the party, there being some seven hundred delegates present from thirty-seven States of the Union. It was, therefore, one which invited aspirants for its highest gifts, in order that the claims of each might be fully heard upon their merits and the very best chosen. On the second day of its proceedings the names of John G. Woolley, Hale Johnson, of Illinois, and Rev. Dr. S. C. Swallow, the "Fighting Pennsylvania Parson," were placed in nomination for President. These powerful contestants so divided the strength of the convention that a choice seemed difficult till one was removed. Mr. Johnson chose to make the sacrifice, and Mr. Woolley found himself pitted alone against the Pennsylvania champion. One ballot, with the result of 380 votes for Woolley to 320 for Swallow, settled the contest, amid a tempest of cheering. The choice was made unanimous, and the convention adjourned well satisfied that it had honored one of the strongest and most aggressive advocates of Prohibition principles by its nomination.

Amid the cares of editorship and the taxations of the lecture field, Mr. Woolley has found time for the writing and publication of several interesting and popular volumes, among which are "Seed;" "The Sower;" "Civilization by Faith;" "The Christian Citizen."

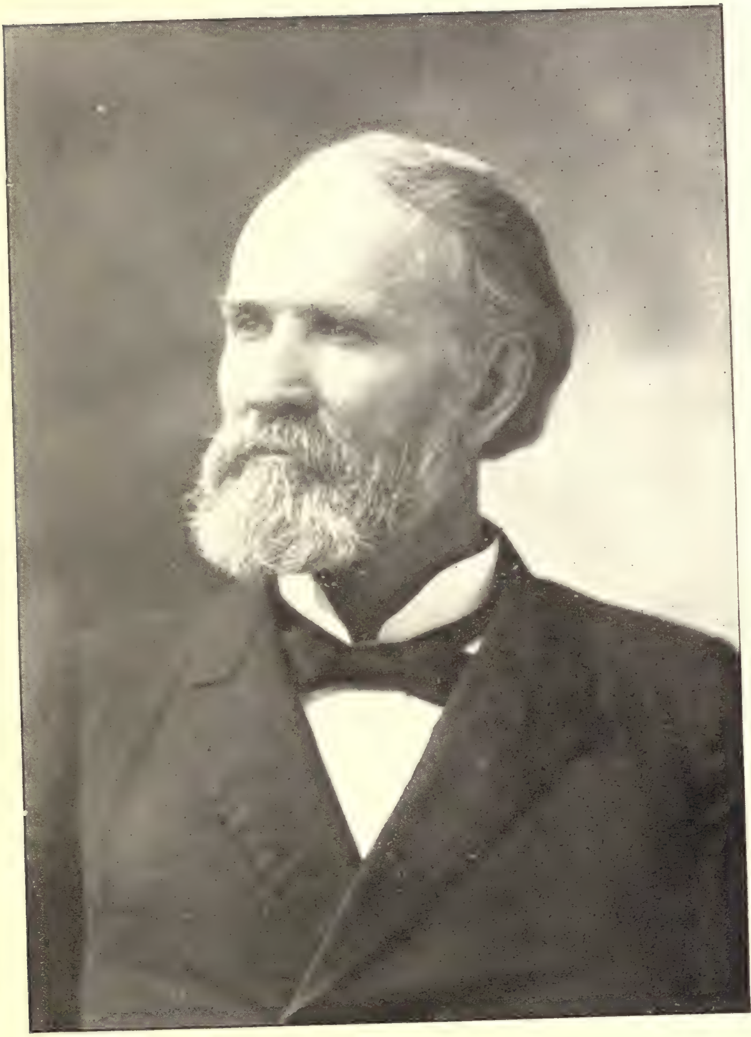
In his speech placing Mr. Woolley in nomination before the convention, Mr. Oliver W. Stewart, chairman of the National Committe, said:

"I have heard it said that John G. Woolley is the John the Baptist, that he must not expect a nomination, that he must take the reward of John the Baptist. I tell you if he must take that reward, that Oliver W. Stewart will stand on any platform where he can get his feet to advocate to the last that we shall not turn our backs upon him while the world beheads him. I am for standing for a man who stands by our cause, and fifty years from now when the history is written of how the liquor traffic died in America, the historian will have to put in his history a paragraph somewhere reading like this: "The truest, bravest voice that was heard in all the world in the latter part of the nineteenth century was the voice of John G. Woolley.

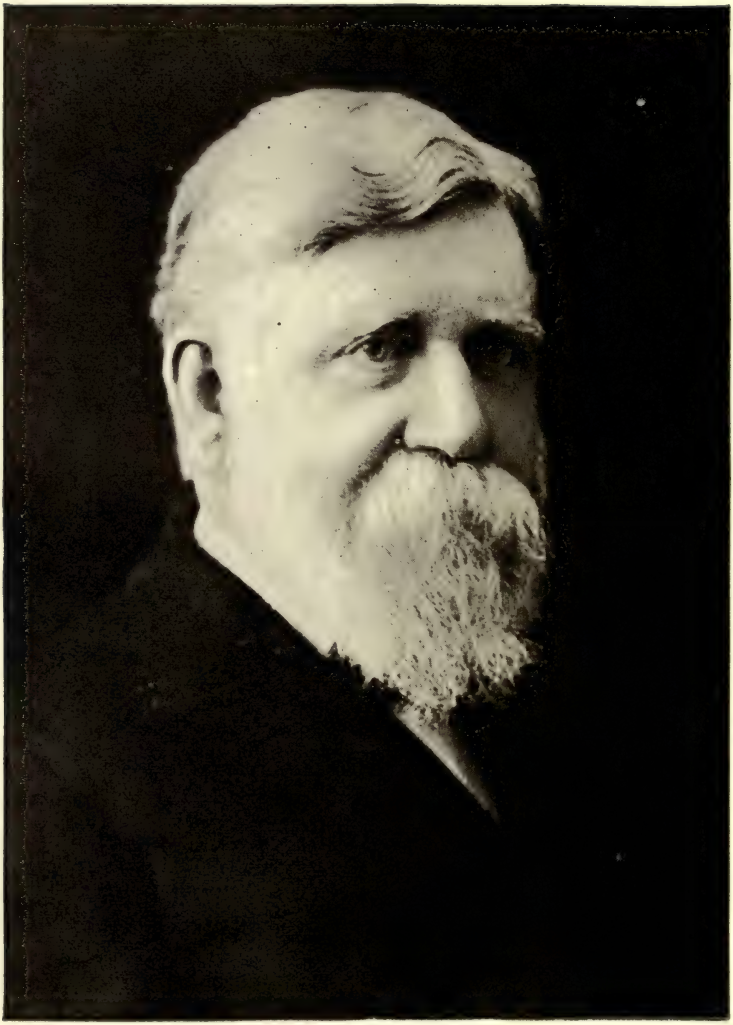
"Put his name at the head of our ticket, and assure us of the tremendously energetic campaign that we will have."

JAMES WILSON.

James Wilson, of Traer, Tama County, Iowa, Secretary of Agriculture, was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, August 16, 1835; in 1852 he came to the United States, settling in Connecticut with his parents; in 1855 he went to Iowa, locating in Tama County, where, as early as 1861, he engaged in farming; was elected to the State Legislature, and served in the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth general assemblies, being speaker of the house in the last mentioned assembly; was elected to Congress in 1872, and served in the Forty-third, Forty-fourth, and Forty-eighth Congresses; in the interim between the Forty-fourth and Forty-eighth Congresses served as a member of the Railway Commission; from 1870 to 1874 was a regent of the State University, and for the past six years has been director of the agricultural experiment station and professor of agriculture at the Iowa Agricultural College at Ames; was confirmed Secretary of Agriculture March 5, 1897. In this position he has, by his practical agricultural knowledge and great appreciation of farming needs, endeared himself to the tillers of the soil, and given to his office a higher place in popular esteem than it ever held before. Experiment stations have been greatly multiplied, scientific methods of farming encouraged, and the farmer generally awakened to higher notions of his calling. Especially has he inculcated by the means at his control a more comprehensive estimate of the opportunities which are opening to rural populations through our enlarged commercial relations.



JAMES WILSON.



HENRY B. METCALF.

LIFE OF HENRY BREWER METCALF.

HENRY BREWER METCALF was born in Boston, Mass., on April 2, 1829. His education was received in the common schools of his native city. At the age of fifteen, or in the year 1844, he entered as an apprentice in the wholesale dry-goods business, and through industry and probity rose to a prominent place in the mercantile world. He continued the business in Boston until 1872, when he moved to Rhode Island and embarked in the manufacturing business. Here he duplicated his Boston success and became one of the well-to-do and influential citizens of the State. In 1854 he married Elizabeth Freeman of Boston. He belongs to the Universalist denomination, and has been for many years Superintendent of the Sunday School of the Church of Our Father in Pawtucket, R. I. Altogether he has served in this capacity for over forty years. In politics he was formerly a Republican, but eventually gave up that party and joined the Prohibitionists,of whose doctrines he is a pronounced and able advocate, and in whose work he is an active and reliable assistant. He has several times been the candidate of the party for Governor of Rhode Island. In 1885-86 he served a term as member of the Rhode Island Senate, to which he was elected as a Republican. He is president of the Providence County Savings Bank, and served for many years as trustee of Tufts' College. In 1898 he was honored with the presidency of that institution. At the National Convention of the Prohibition National Party, which met at Chicago on June 27, 1900, he was one of three candidates placed in nomination for Vice-President of the United States, and was chosen by an overwhelming vote of the Convention.

CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS.

THE National Prohibition Convention met at Chicago, June 27, 1900. It proved to be the largest and most enthusiastic convention in the history of the party, there being 730 delegates present, representing thirty-nine different States. Proceedings were opened by Oliver W. Stewart, chairman of the National Committee. They were of the routine and harmonious order until the report of the Committee on Resolutions was read, when it was found that an important plank relating to woman suffrage had been omitted. This omission caused intense excitement, and the women delegates assumed a bold aggressive. After long and heated debate they succeeded in incorporating into the platform the desired plank, which was ratified by the convention.

The sentiment of the convention was to make the issue of the campaign on the single issue of the liquor traffic, all other questions to be subordinate. After three sessions the convention adjourned till 9.30 A. M. of the 28th. On that date nominations for President were in order. Three names were placed in nomination in appropriate speeches—those of John G. Woolley, of Chicago, editor of the "New Voice;" Hale Johnson, of Illinois, and Rev. Dr. Swallow, the "Fighting Pennsylvania Parson." On a call of States they were found to divide the strength of the convention so evenly that a selection would be impossible till one withdrew. Mr. Johnson at length sacrificed himself in favor of Mr. Woolley. The contest then lay between Woolley and Swallow. The next vote showed 380 votes for Woolley to 320 for Swallow. Mr. Woolley's nomination was made unanimous amid cheers.

Immediately after the announcement for the Presidential nomination, Dr. Swallow was proposed as the vice-presidential nominee. The convention went wild over the suggestion, but Dr. Swallow, after a hurried conference with the Pennsylvania delegation, refused to accept the nomination.

On the following day, July 7, at a meeting of the National Committee, it was unanimously resolved to indorse Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, already nominated by the Democrats, as the nominee of the Silver Republican party for Vice-President, and an address to the country to that effect was authorized.

For Vice-President three candidates were balloted for, H. B. Metcalf, of Rhode Island; Thomas R. Caskardon, of West Virginia, and the Rev. E. L. Eaton, of Iowa, Mr. Metcalf receiving an overwhelming majority of the votes cast.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION PARTY PLATFORM OF 1900.

THE National Prohibition party, in convention represented, at Chicago, June 27 and 28, 1900, acknowledge Almighty God as the Supreme source of all just government. Realizing that this republic was founded upon Christian principles and can endure only as it embodies justice and righteousness, and asserting that all authority should seek the best good of all the governed, to this end wisely prohibiting what is wrong and permitting only what is right, hereby records and proclaims:

1. We accept and assert the definition given by Edmund Burke, that "a party is a body of men joined together for the purpose of promoting, by their joint endeavor, the national interest upon some particular principle upon which they are all agreed." We declare that there is no principle now advocated, by any other party, which could be made a fact in government with such beneficent moral and material results as the principle of Prohibition, applied to the beverage liquor traffic; that the national interest could be promoted in no other way so surely and widely as by its adoption and assertion through a national policy, and the co-operation therein of every State, forbidding the manufacture, sale, exportation, importation and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes; that we stand for this as the only principle, proposed by any party anywhere, for the settlement of a question greater and graver than any other before the American people, and involving more profoundly than any other their moral future, and financial welfare; and that all the pa-

triotic citizenship of this country, agreed upon this principle, however much disagreement there may be as to minor considerations and issues, should stand together at the ballot-box from this time forward, until Prohibition is the established policy of the United States, with a party in power to enforce it and to insure its moral and material benefits.

We insist that such a party, agreed upon this principle and policy, having sober leadership, without any obligation for success to the saloon vote and those demoralizing political combinations of men and money now allied therewith and suppliant thereto, could successfully cope with all other and lesser problems of government, in legislative halls and in the executive chair, and that it is useless for any party to make declarations in its platform as to any questions concerning which there may be serious differences of opinion in its own membership, and as to which, because of such differences, the party could legislate only on a basis of mutual concessions when coming into power.

We submit that the Democratic and Republican parties are alike insincere in their assumed hostility to trusts and monopolies. They dare not and do not attack the most dangerous of them all, the liquor power. So long as the saloon debauches the citizen and breeds the purchasable voter, money will continue to buy its way to power. Break down this traffic, elevate manhood, and a sober citizenship will find a way to control dangerous combinations of capital.

We propose as a first step in the financial problems of the nation to save more than a billion of dollars every year, now annually expended to support the liquor traffic and to demoralize our people. When that is accomplished, conditions will have so improved that with a clearer atmosphere the country can address itself to the questions as to the kind and quantity of currency needed.

2. We reaffirm as true indisputably the declaration of William Windom when secretary of the treasury in the cabinet of President Arthur, that "Considered socially, financially, politically or morally, the licensed liquor traffic is or ought to be the overwhelming issue in American politics," and that "the destruction of this iniquity stands next on the calendar of the world's progress." We hold that the existence of our party presents this issue squarely to the American people, and lays upon them the responsibility of choice between liquor parties, dominated by distillers and brewers, with their policy of saloon perpetuation, breeding waste, wickedness, woe, pauperism, taxation, corruption and crime, and our one party of patriotic and moral principle, with a policy which defends it from domination by corrupt bosses and which insures it forever against the blighting control of saloon politics.

We face with sorrow, shame and fear the awful fact that this liquor traffic has a grip on our government, municipal, state and national, through the revenue system and saloon sovereignty, which no other party dares to dispute; a grip which dominates the party now in power, from caucus to Congress, from policeman to President, from the rumshop to the White House; a grip which compels the chief executive to consent that law shall be nullified in behalf of the brewer, that the canteen shall curse our army and spread intemperance across the seas, and that our flag shall wave as the symbol of partnership at home and abroad, between this government and the men who defy and defile it for their unholy gain.

3. We charge upon President McKinley, who was elected to his high office by appeals to Christian sentiment and patriotism almost unprecedented and by a combination of moral influences never before seen in this country, that by his conspicuous example as a wine-drinker at public banquets and as

a wine-serving host in the White House, he has done more to encourage the liquor business, to demoralize the temperance habits of young men, and to bring Christian practices and requirements into disrepute, than any other President this republic has ever had. We further charge upon President McKinley responsibility for the army canteen, with all its dire brood of disease, immorality, sin and death, in this country, in Cuba, in Porto Rico and the Philippines; and we insist that by his attitude concerning the canteen, and his apparent contempt for the vast number of petitions and petitioners protesting against it, he has outraged and insulted the moral sentiment of this country, in such a manner, and to such a degree, as calls for its righteous uprising and his indignant and effective rebuke.

We challenge denial of the fact that our chief executive, as commander in chief of the military forces of the United States, at any time prior to or since March 2, 1899, could have closed every army saloon, called a canteen, by executive order, as President Hayes in effect did before him, and should have closed them, for the same reasons which actuated President Hayes; we assert that the act of Congress, passed March 2d, 1899, forbidding the sale of liquor, "in any post-exchange or canteen," by any "officer or private soldier" or by "any other person on any premises used for military purposes in the United States," was and is as explicit an act of Prohibition as the English language can frame; we declare our solemn belief that the attorney general of the United States in his interpretation of that law, and the secretary of war in his acceptance of that interpretation and his refusal to enforce the law, were and are guilty of treasonable nullification thereof, and that President McKinley, through his assent to and endorsement of such interpretation and refusal, on the part of the

the duty of Christian citizenship in opposition thereto; and the fact being plain and undeniable that the Democratic party stands for license, the saloon, and the canteen, while the Republican party, in policy and administration, stands for the canteen, the saloon and revenue therefrom, we declare ourselves justified in expecting that Christian voters everywhere shall cease their complicity with the liquor curse by refusing to uphold a liquor party, and shall unite themselves with the only party which upholds the Prohibition policy, and which for nearly thirty years has been the faithful defender of the church, the state, the home and the school, against the saloon, its expanders and perpetuators, their actual and persistent foes.

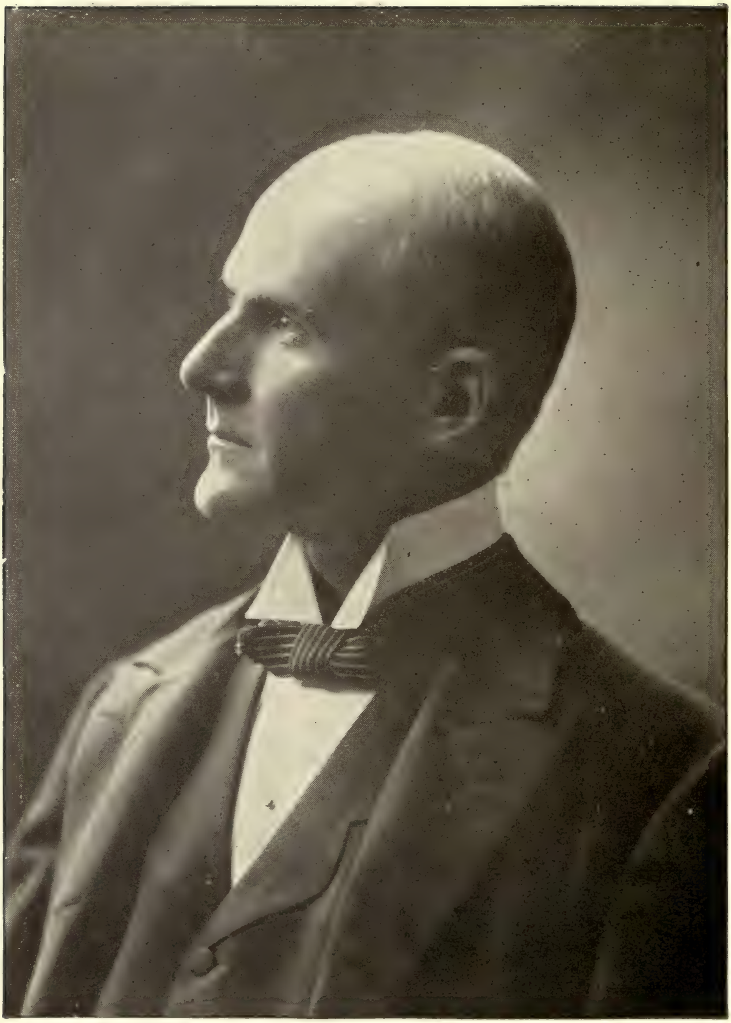
We insist that no differences of belief, as to any other question or concern of government, should stand in the way of such a union of moral and Christian citizenship as we hereby invite, for the speedy settlement of this paramount moral, industrial, financial, and political issue, which our party presents; and we refrain from declaring ourselves upon all minor matters, as to which differences of opinion may exist, that hereby we may offer to the American people a platform so broad that all can stand upon it who desire to see sober citizenship actually sovereign over the allied hosts of evil, sin and crime, in a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

We declare that there are but two real parties to-day, concerning the liquor traffic—perpetuationists and Prohibitionists; and that patriotism, Christianity, and every interest of genuine and of pure democracy, besides the loyal demands of our common humanity, require the speedy union, in one solid phalanx at the ballot box, of all who oppose the liquor traffic's perpetuation, and who covet endurance for this republic.

EDWARD OLIVER WOLCOTT.

Edward Oliver Wolcott, Republican, of Denver, Colorado, was born in Longmeadow, Mass., March 26, 1848; served for a few months as private in the One hundred and fiftieth Regiment of Ohio Volunteers in 1864; entered Yale College in 1866, but did not graduate; graduated from Harvard Law School in 1871, and removed to Colorado; is a lawyer; was elected to the United States Senate, to succeed Thomas M. Bowen, Republican, and took his seat March 4, 1889; was re-elected in 1895. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901. As a member of the Senate, Mr. Wolcott soon rose to a high place in its respect and deliberations. Of independent and fearless turn, he gravely and deeply inquired into public measures, and mere party sanction was not always for him a sufficient consideration for that support his conscience and judgment could not give. With careful study and preparation he united a bold power of initiative, and thus always excited interest and secured attention. In debate he was keen, tactful and masterful, now strong and clear in the presentation of logical argument, now captivating in a mellifluous and exuberant rhetoric, always fair and complaisant to foes, seldom perturbed by interrogation or lacking in apt repartee. For some time previous to the assembling of the Republican National Convention on June 19, 1900, Mr. Wolcott had been mentioned among the orators likely to be chosen to deliver nomination speeches, and also as one whose availability as a vice presidential candidate was worthy of the highest consideration by the convention.

EDWARD OLIVER WOLCOTT.



EUGENE V. DEBS.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

LIFE OF EUGENE V. DEBS,

Presidential Nominee.

EUGENE V. Debs was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, in the fall of 1855. At the age of fifteen he began work in the Vandalia car-shops. He next obtained position as fireman on a freight engine, and occupied it for some years, during which time he became conspicuous in the councils of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Fireman. At the early age of twenty-two years that organization made him editor of its magazine, and from that day forward he bore the cares of leadership. He became general secretary and treasurer of the organization, and saw it grow from infancy to national proportions. In this position he became custodian of millions of dollars of organization funds.

In 1892, Mr. Debs founded the American Railway Union, which was the first organization in the world to admit to membership every employe from section man and engine-wiper to conductor and engineer. Its central idea was complete and universal organization, and under his guiding hand it speedily reached colossal proportions. Its first great strike was on the Great Northern Railway. The road was tied up from St. Paul to the Pacific ocean, and the company was forced to restore the wages of all employes.

Alarmed at the strength of the new union built on the "universal brotherhood" plan, the General Managers' Assocition resolved to force a general fight with the hope of crushing it in its infancy. Employes were discharged for simply holding membership in the American Railway Union. The Pullman trouble was brewing at the same time, and Pullman's employes who were members of the Union had had their wages cut fully fifty per cent. Mr. Debs knew fully that the conspiracy was against the very life of his organization and that the struggle could not be avoided. He promptly took up the Pulmaln trouble and offered to submit it to arbitration. Meeting with refusal, he ordered the members of the Union to handle no Pullman cars.

The battle was on in earnest, and within two days scarcely a car of any kind was moving between the Mississippi and Pacific. In a very short time the overland commerce of the nation was practically paralyzed. The General Manager's Association was outgeneraled at every point, so long as it fought fairly. Realizing this, it finally appealed to the courts. It found one willing to issue an edict to the effect that Mr. Debs should send no more messages, letters nor telegrams from headquarters to the members of the Union. Mr. Debs and his lieutenants refused to submit, and within a few days found themselves behind prison bars. They were not released until after the strike had died out.

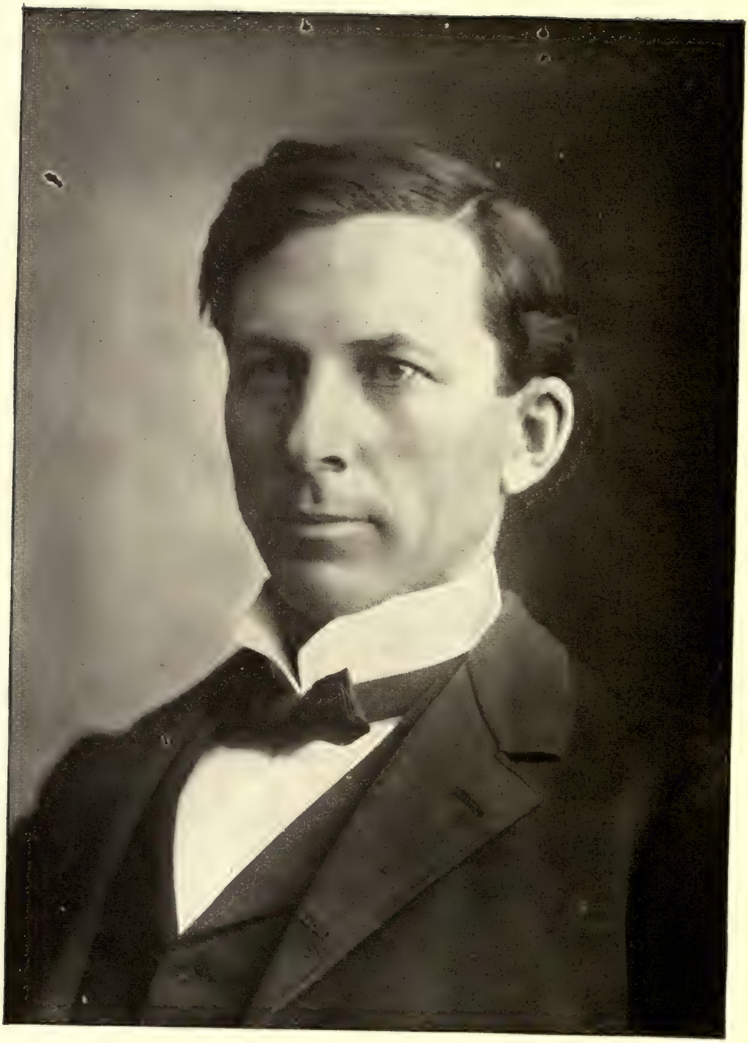
Then followed a long legal battle to test the new principle sought to be established—the principle of legislating by injunction. The question was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, but the pivotal issue was not passed upon. It remains open for further test.

Mr. Debs was the first leader in the labor movement in America to offer his liberty as a protest against the rule of corporations. His remarkable ability as an orator has made him the natural champion of the masses against the classes, and his unfaltering courage and devotion to the labor movement marks him as the man destined to lead the struggling millions to the final act in the great social drama in which the civilized world is the stage.

LEONARD WOOD.

Brigadier-General Wood won his greenest laurels in the island of Cuba during the Spanish-American war, not more for bravery in the field than for his administration of the Department of Santiago, of which Department he took charge after the end of hostilities. His administration was so effective as to bring speedy order out of dire confusion, appease native and Spanish authorities, drive disease out of a pest-ridden city, and introduce a discipline and government acceptable to all. So marked were his vigor and the pronounced results which followed, that on December 6, 1899, he was commissioned a major-general of volunteers, and on the 13th assigned to the command of the Division of Cuba, relieving General Brooks as division commander and military governor of the island. He at once announced his cabinet of six members, all natives of the island, and began necessary reforms. One of his first steps was to liberate hundreds of prisoners from the Carcel, or central prison of Havana, who had been confined there in squalor and filth for indefinite periods and without knowing the charges against them. The next step was to appoint a joint commission of American and native lawyers for the codification and modification of the penal laws. The Fiscal of the Supreme Court was removed as being responsible for the great number of untried cases and for blocking charges against customs' officials. General Wood made it known once for all, that "he expected the Cuban judiciary to vindicate itself from the insinuation that it could be influenced by corrupt motives." He instituted a system of popular schools and for road-building. The Cubans felt the impulse of his wise control of affairs and returned to their wonted agricultural pursuits. That all might fully understand the nature of his mission and regime he caused it to be particularly known that his military authority was not to interfere with civil authority save in a supervisory sense and in respect to sanitation. The military was never to be employed except when the civil power was found to be ineffective. In every detail of his Cuban administration he has abundantly proved the wisdom of choosing him for the responsible position of Governor-General.

LEONARD WOOD.



JOB HARRIMAN.

LIFE OF JOB HARRIMAN.

Vice-Presidential Nominee.

JOB Harriman was born in Clinton county, Indiana, on June 15, 1861. His people were farmers and he himself remained on the farm until he was 18 years of age. He went to Butler University at Irvington, but was forced to discontinue his studies after the sophomore year because of sickness. Later, having moved to Colorado Springs, young Harriman finished the junior year in Colorado College. In 1886 he moved to California. After studying law in the Los Angeles Law School, he was admitted to the state bar in 1897.

Ever an active worker in the movements of organized labor, the subject of this sketch was a candidate for the position of Governor in 1898. He is a fluent speaker and a good debater. A debate between Harriman and ex-Judge and Congressman James G. McGuire, of California, has been published and widely distributed among American Socialists.

Mr. Harriman was nominated for the Presidency by the Rochester convention of the Socialist Labor party. In order to bring about the fusion of the two Socialist parties, however, he resigned to accept the Vice-Presidential nomination of the united party, as agreed upon at the Indianapolis convention of the Social Democratic party.

CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS.

THE National Convention of the Social Democratic Party met at Indianapolis, Ind., on March 7, 1900. It was in session four days, and nominated Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana, as its candidate for President of the United States, and Job Harriman, of California, as candidate for Vice-President. The nomination came to Mr. Debs unsolicited, and he accepted only after great persuasion. A part of the proceedings was an agreement to unite with the Socialist Labor Party, which had met in convention at Rochester in February, and nominated Job Harriman, of California, for President, and Max S. Hays, of Ohio, for Vice-President. The following platform of principles was agreed upon:

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM OF 1900

First. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

Second. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants and other public utilities.

Fourth. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also all oil and gas wells.

Fifth. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed; the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.

Ninth. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth. Equal civil and political rights for men and women and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh. The adoption of the initiative and referendum and the right to the recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

The Committee on Resolutions reported approval of a resolution condemning the establishment of militarism in Porto Rico and the combination of capitalists to deprive Porto Ricans of the franchise.

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